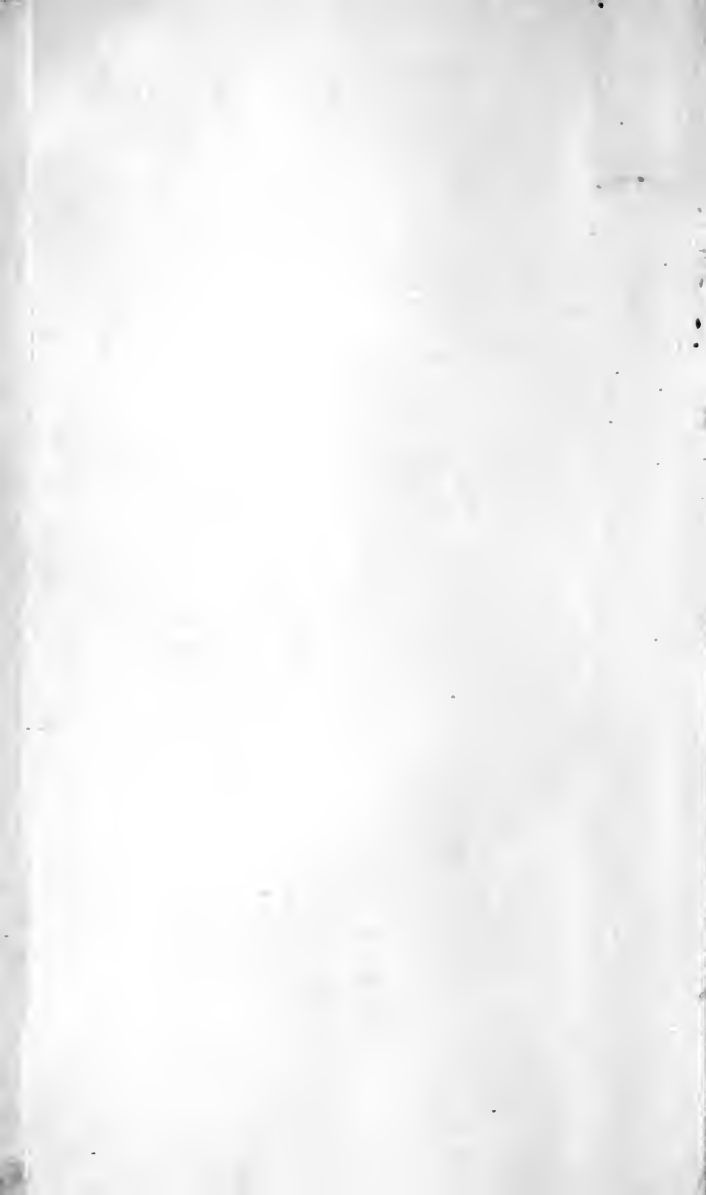


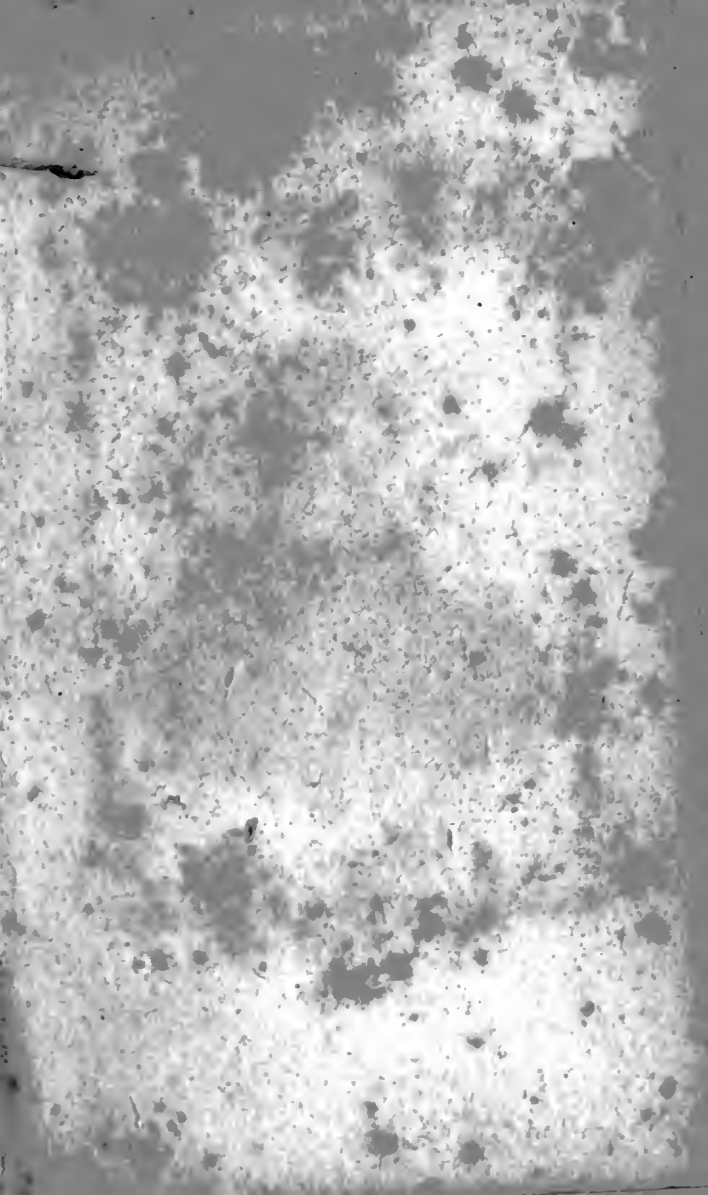


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Bequest of
Rev. Th. C. Scadding, D.
to the Library
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1901







Engraved by W. FRY

PA325K



INTERESTING MEMORIALS
OF ITS
Rise, Progress, & Present State.

(C. O. P.)
SHOLTO & REUBEN PERCY,
Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery,
MONT BENGER.

— ♦ —
TWO VOLUMES.



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1823.



TO

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

GEORGE THE FOURTH,

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

KING,

THIS

History of London

IS

MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

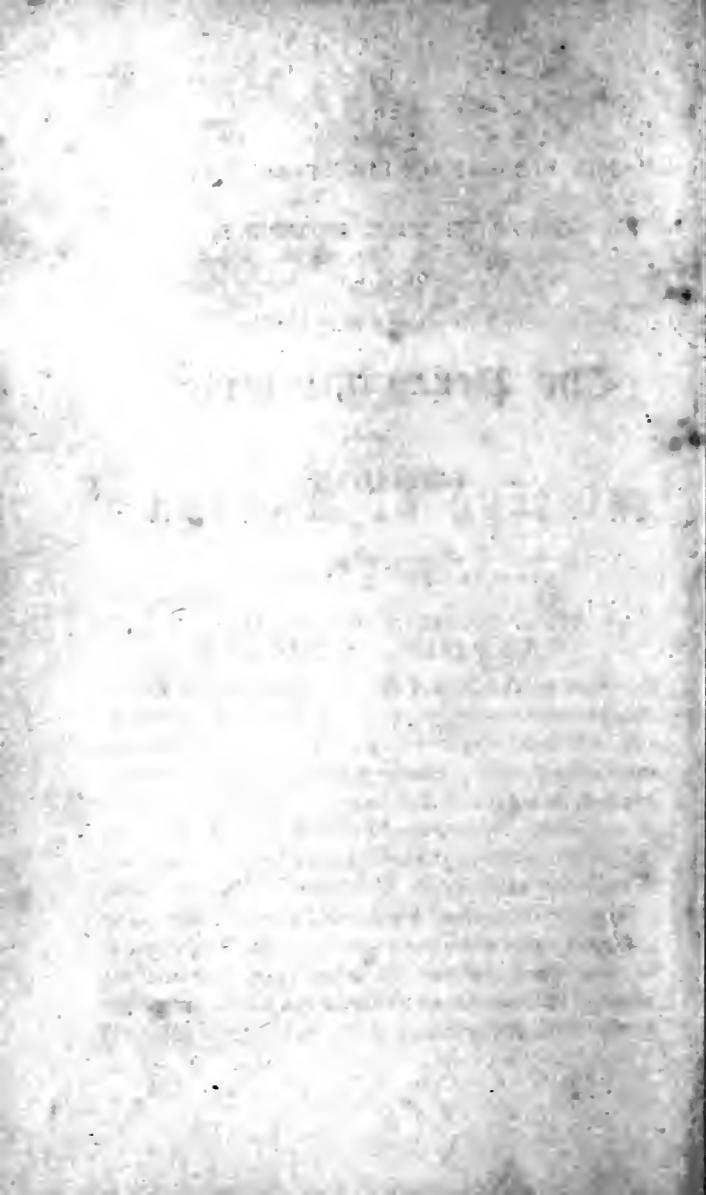
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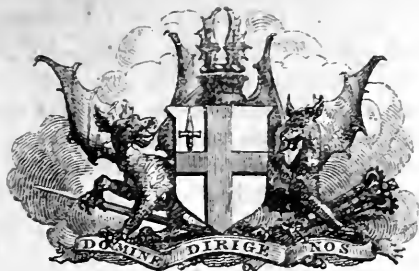
HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST FAITHFUL AND

DEVOTED SERVANTS,

*Thos Percy
Rdmd Percy.*





The Percy Histories.

LONDON.

—————This ancient city :
How wanton sits she amidst Nature's smiles !

Young.

FOUNDATION OF THE CITY.

At what precise period the metropolis of the British empire was founded, remains to this day hid in obscurity. Several of our early chroniclers have, it is true, settled the point for posterity in a very circumstantial manner, but without the smallest regard to evidence of any sort. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, and all the retailers of his fables, London was founded in the year 1108 before the Christian era, by Brute, a lineal descendant of Eneas, and called by him, after the great scene of his ancestor's exploits, *Troy Novant*, or *New Troy*, whence the inhabitants received the name of *Trinovantes*, or *Trinobantes* ; and so, as we are further told, it continued to be called for a thousand

years and more, till the sceptre having devolved on King Lud, a native of Britain, he gave it the name of *Caer Lud*, or *Ludstoun*, which in process of time became softened into *London*. Mr. Pennant, rejecting this romantic story, has framed another of his own, on the basis of a derivation in Baxter's Glossary, which seems nearly as fanciful. "London," he says, "certainly existed prior to the invasion of Cæsar; it was, at the time of his arrival in this island, the *capital* of the Trinobantes, who had recently come from Belgium, and composed one of the small nations into which Britain was formerly divided. The name of this nation, as we learn from Baxter's British Glossary, was derived from the three following British words—*tri now hant*, which signify the inhabitants of the *New City*, the ancient name of the renowned metropolis of Britain."—If it were in the usual order of things, for people to build cities first, and then to be called after them, this definition would be plausible at least; but since we know of nothing of the kind in the history of nations, we are forced to conclude that *New City* and *New Troy* belong equally to the domain of fiction.

"The Romans," continues Mr. Pennant, "soon fixed their eyes on this new town, and great numbers of them settling in it, they gave it the name of *Londinium* from its situation, and *Augusta* from its grandeur; and in a little time it became the largest and most opulent city in the island." Tacitus, who is the first Roman author who speaks of London by that name, does say, that "London is so called from its situation, and *Augusta* from its grandeur." (Lib. xiv. c. 33.) But he does not say from whom it received these different appellations; nor does there seem the

least reason to infer, with Mr. Pennant, that they were both conferred by the Romans. The name given to it on account of "its situation," was doubtless derived from those who chose that situation; and there is no better proof that the city had an existence prior to the invasion of the Romans, than that it is in the language of the native Britons we find the explanation of the name. "*Lyn-Din*," in the ancient British, signifies *the town on the lake*; and this we may readily suppose to have been a correct enough description of the situation of London at the time of its foundation, when the waters of the river, not confined as they now are by buildings and embankments, spread over a large portion of that vast flat which lies between Wandsworth and Deptford. From *Lyndin* to *London* the deviation is slight; and in *Londinium*, the original British name merely acquired a Latin formation. *Augusta*, the name which it subsequently received on account of its magnificence, was evidently altogether Roman.

Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished later than Tacitus, speaks of *Londinium* as the city of the *Trinobantes*; and this is the most decisive evidence that we have, that it is to this people the honour of founding the British capital belongs.

STATE OF THE CITY BEFORE THE ROMAN INVASION.

When we read of London being "the *Capital* of the *Trinobantes*," the mind naturally completes the ideal picture, by supposing it to have been, at the arrival of the Romans, the seat of a regular govern-

ment, and of a numerous and fixed population ; but the term is altogether misapplied. We may rest satisfied that Cæsar does not deceive us, when he relates, in his Commentaries, that “ what the Britons called a town was nothing more than a thick wood, surrounded by a ditch and fortified by a rampart, into which they retired when apprehensive of invasion.” The proofs are indubitable, that the Britons had not as yet emerged from a state of barbarism ; they knew nothing of brick-making, and had never, so far as the Romans could observe, attempted to raise one stone above another. No traces of building have ever been discovered about London, which could with any probability be ascribed to a period anterior to the Roman invasion. Of natural advantages, however, the Britons were probably as good judges as the Romans themselves ; and we find, accordingly, that as far as regards the site of London, a stronger one for purposes of defence could scarcely have been chosen. The heart of their city was on the summit of an angle of rising ground, (about where St. Paul’s cathedral now stands,) bounded on the one side by the broad and marshy Thames, on the other by the Fleta, a stream or torrent since covered over, which emptied itself into the Thames, near to where Blackfriars-bridge has been since erected ; and behind this naturally entrenched mount there was a thick wood, which extended far into the interior.—We have only in imagination to cover this mount also with “ thick wood,” to complete the idea which Cæsar presents to us of a British town ; and unless it had been actually so covered, there is little probability that it would have become the chosen fastness of a naked and houseless people. So slowly, indeed, was the wood

cleared away, that so late as the reign of Henry II. all the northern parts of the city bordered on a thick forest, where beasts of the chase roamed at large.

When the Romans, under Cæsar, advanced to the Thames, the Trinobantes were the first of the tribes beyond that river who sent proposals of submission to the invader; and there is every reason to believe, that they formed no part of that native force which, under Cassivelaunus, attempted to oppose his progress. When victory declared for Cæsar, and he had effected the passage of the river, he found not only a friendly people in the Trinobantes, but in their city or stronghold in the wood, as advantageous a position for encampment as the invader of an unknown territory could desire. It was such as a very slight application of the Roman skill in fortification could render impregnable to any attacks from the still hostile nations of the interior; while, on the side of the Thames, that noble stream secured to it a free communication with the sea, and with all the earlier settlements of the Romans on the British coast.

CÆSAR'S FORD.

It has been a matter of much dispute among antiquaries to determine the precise spot where Julius Cæsar forded the Thames. Camden and others think that it was at Shepperton, and that what are called Cowey Stakes were planted there to obstruct his passage; indeed, so general was this notion, that, at one time, a cutler made a small fortune by purchasing these stakes, and selling knives and forks with handles made out of them.—Maitland, conceiving, however, that this would place the Ford

at a greater distance from London than would agree with the account given by Cæsar, was at great pains to discover a ford lower down. "I endeavoured," he says, "by sounding the river at several neap tides, from Wandsworth to London-bridge, to discover a ford, which, to *my no small satisfaction*, I did, on the 18th of September, anno 1732, about ninety feet west of the south-west angle of Chelsea-College-garden; where, in a right line from north-east to south-west, I found the deepest part of the channel to be only four feet seven inches deep." It would perhaps have diminished the "satisfaction" which Maitland felt at this discovery, had he reflected for a moment, that the state of any part of the river in his day, could be no evidence of what its state was in the time of the Romans. For several centuries our climate has been increasing in humidity, and our rivers in bulk; and instead of wide marshes on the banks of the Thames, we behold extensive quays and embankments, which confine its augmented waters within a channel at once narrower and deeper. It is besides certain, that to the west of London-bridge, and not so high up as Chelsea, there existed, previous to the general embankment of the river, at least two well known fords. Milford-lane, opposite to St. Clement's-church in the Strand, was so called from a corn mill which anciently stood there, and from its leading to a *ford* across the river. At York-house, the palace of the archbishop of York, which stood on the site of the streets adjoining to what still bears the name of *York-stairs*, there was another ford, which, as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been used within the memory of persons then living.

According to another learned antiquary, however, it was neither at Cowey Stakes, nor at Chelsea, nor at any one of all the places yet mentioned, that the Romans effected their passage. Mr. Bagford, in a letter to Hearne, written in 1714, says, "And now I shall relate to you the manner of the Roman approaches nearer to London. These led along Kent-street, on the left hand, leading to London, and pointed directly to Dowgate, now so called, through an arch since built by the Bishop of Winchester at his stairs, which, to this day, is called Stone-street, and came directly out of Surrey. It was at this very place (as I take it) that the Roman legions forded over the river of Thames, first the horse and then the foot, which might not then take them up to the shoulders. And this they might attempt (as we may conjecture) when the tide was first coming in, they then making an angle, and directing their course against the stream of the river. When they came to the middle of the stream, the tide drove them to their intended landing-place—*which was Dowgate.*" It must be confessed, that the circumstances which Mr. Bagford brings forward in support of this discovery are not quite so convincing as could be wished. At Farnborough, sixteen miles from London, there are the remains of a Roman camp; at Peckham, there was dug up in the middle of the high-way "a famous glass Roman urn;" on the left-hand of Kent-street, coins, bottles, and "divers old utensils," all Roman, have been found; and as these memorials (for such is the argument) could not possibly have been left there at any other period than on the first progress of the Romans, it follows, that it was by Farnborough, Peckham, and

Kent-street, that the Romans advanced to London. Now, as Kent-street points across to Dowgate, and as armies are proverbial for always crossing rivers at the first point they reach, therefore is it clearly demonstrated, that it was at Dowgate, and no where else, they crossed the Thames !

At whatever place the Romans forded the river, it seems certain at least, that the passage was not effected at any part lower than the junction of the Fleta with the Thames. All the territory within the angle formed by these two streams was occupied by the Trinobantes, who were in negotiation for a friendly treaty with the invader ; and it must have been *above* it, therefore, that Cæsar found the hostile forces of Cassivelaunus drawn up to oppose his passage. It may possibly have been as far up as Cowey Stakes, but not less possibly as low down as the *Mill-ford* ;—in short, the range of reasonable conjecture is so wide, that nothing can be vainer than to attempt to come to a fixed conclusion on the subject. The respectable antiquaries who have employed their ingenuity upon it, were probably betrayed into the inquiry by an anxiety to reconcile an expression made use of by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, with the actual topography of the country. Speaking of the Thames, he says, that it “ is only fordable in *one place*, and that with great difficulty.” Cæsar, however, could only mean, that as *far as he had been able to discover*, it was only fordable in one place ; and it was scarcely worth while to be at such pains to correct an error, which subsequent observations have rendered so undoubted.

STATE OF THE CITY UNDER THE
ROMANS.

The Romans conquered only to civilize. They shewed the Britons how to fashion the clay of their soil into bricks and domestic utensils ; to build houses for themselves, temples to their gods, and courts for the administration of justice ; to drain and embank ; to cut roads and erect causeways ; to lay out their towns in streets and squares, and to surround them with walls and towers. The Britons chose the site of London, but to the Romans we must allow the praise of adorning it with all those monuments of art, which procured for it the name of *AUGUSTA*.

It was soon perceived by this sagacious people, that London, though well fitted by its natural strength for a military station, was still better qualified to be a place of extensive commerce. Seated at a considerable distance from the sea on a broad and navigable river, which, after watering some of the fairest portions of the island, discharges itself into the ocean almost in sight of the continent of Europe, it seemed calculated to be at once the mart for a great domestic and great foreign trade. The Romans, however, were warriors, and not traffickers ; and they contented themselves with directing the Britons to the cultivation of those advantages, which have raised their capital to the proud pre-eminence which it now holds among the cities of the earth. We find accordingly, that London was never, like other settlements of the Romans, formed into what they termed a military colony, exclusively Roman. Here the Ro-

man prefects resided ; and from this point, as we learn from the Itinerary of Antoninus, branched most of the great roads into the interior ; both decisive proofs that they regarded it as the most important station they possessed in the island : yet neither did they occupy it alone, nor did they subject it to the inconvenient restrictions of a garrison town. London remained a free city, where Roman and Briton mingled amicably together ; and to which strangers from all parts were encouraged to resort with their commodities.

So rapid was the progress of London in commercial importance, that as early as the revolt of the celebrated Boadicea, it is described by Tacitus as having become famous for the vast number of merchants who resorted to it, and the abundance of every species of commodity which it could supply. The first interruption to its prosperity arose from the early triumphs of this illustrious heroine. The Roman general, Suetonius, unable in the outset to encounter so formidable a rebellion, was obliged to abandon London to its fate. Boadicea and her troops, eager to punish the ancient defection of the Trinobantes from the common cause of the native powers, and irritated by the spectacle which London presented of Roman greatness, massacred every soul they found in the city, and, setting fire to it in several places, nearly reduced the whole to ashes.

The Romans, however, again recovering the ascendancy, a new city speedily arose on the same favoured spot, devoted as before to the peaceful pursuits of commerce, and flourishing by them. In the year 359, no less than eight hundred vessels are said

to have been employed in the exportation from London of corn alone.

On the decline of the Roman empire in the fifth century, London had to lament the departure of the beneficent founders of her greatness. There are various statements of the period when the Romans abandoned Britain ; all that is certain is, that it took place not later than the year 450, when a dominion which brought many blessings to this island had wholly and for ever ceased.

ROMAN REMAINS.

When the Romans evacuated London, they left it encompassed with lofty and well fortified WALLS. The circuit of them, as described by Stowe, measured two miles and a furlong ; and this did not include the side towards the Thames, which, though originally walled in, was subsequently left to its natural defence. When perfect, the walls are supposed to have been twenty-two feet high. They commenced on the east with a large fort, erected on the present site of the Tower (supposed by Bagford still to survive under the name of the *White Tower*), and taking a semicircular direction by the Minories, Houndsditch, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and Ludgate, terminated in another lofty fort on the Thames, close to Fleet Brook. Besides these two principal forts, the walls were guarded by thirteen other towers, erected at proper distances on the land-side, and supposed by Maitland, from some remains of them existing in his time, to have been about forty feet

high. The entrances into the city on the land-side were originally but three; by Aldgate on the east, Aldersgate on the north, and Ludgate on the west; but in the course of time, many new gates were opened to facilitate communication with the country, such as Newgate, Cripplegate, Moorgate, Bishopsgate, the postern on Tower-hill, &c. The barbican, specula, or watch-tower, belonging to every fortified place, stood a little without the walls to the east of Aldersgate, on the spot which still goes by the name of *Barbican*. Mr. Bagford's account of the uses to which this was applied is curious. — "Here," he says, "the Romans kept cohorts of soldiers in continual service to watch in the night, that if any sudden fire should happen they might be in readiness to extinguish it, as also to give notice if an enemy were gathering or marching towards the city to surprise them. In short, it was a watch-tower by day, and at night they lighted some combustible matter on the top thereof, to give directions to the weary traveller repairing to the city, either with provision, or upon some other occasion. The same was intended by a lantern on the top of Bow steeple before the fire of London (although seldom made use of), for burning of lights, to give direction to the travellers and to the market-people, that came from the northern parts of London."

Of all these extensive out-works, walls, towers, and gates, very few vestiges remain. The dangers which they were erected to avert, having long since ceased to exist, they have one after another been swept away in the course of modern improvement;

and it is only by the names which survive, that their sites are now to be traced. The coins found at their foundations have been invariably Roman; an incontestable proof that it was to the protecting and magnificent spirit of the Roman people, that the British were indebted for the fortification of their capital.

Some of the gates were very handsome and costly structures; especially in later times, when the citizens delighted to distinguish themselves by benefactions and bequests for the embellishment of these inlets to their cherished city. Ludgate, which was taken down and re-built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was not even at that time erected at a less expense than 1500*l.*; and the expenditure on the other gates was equally munificent. When in the last stage of their dilapidation they were ordered to be pulled down, they brought, even as old materials, considerable prices.—Aldgate was sold for 157*l.* 10*s.*; Ludgate for 148*l.*; and Cripplegate for 91*l.*

LONDON STONE, which now stands in the south-wall of St. Swithin's Church, Cannon-street, was another monument of the Roman power. It appears to have been a miliary, of the same kind as that in the forum at Rome, where all the highways of the country met in a point, and from which they were measured. We have before alluded to the proof which this furnishes, that London was regarded by the Romans as the chief seat of their British dominion. When Jack Cade struck this stone with his sword, exclaiming, "Now is Mortimer Lord of London," he was probably not unaware of its emblematic character. There may have been a popular tradition among the English on the subject, similar to that

which the Scots have with respect to the marble chair on which their kings were crowned.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

According to Bagford, the Romans had in London a FIELD OF MARS, in imitation of that at Rome ; and through so long a lapse of ages did the same spot continue to be appropriated to military exercises, that this field was no other than what, in more recent times, was called the Old Artillery Ground. "On the farther side of Whitechapel-street," he says, "next Bishopsgate-street, was another station of the Romans, in that part which formerly bore the name of the Old Artillery Ground, and was their field of Mars, in which place the Romans trained up and exercised their young soldiers, and likewise the youth of the neighbouring Britons, in the skill and exercise of arms, that they might be more expert in the use of them upon all emergent occasions. And if any sudden tumults or insurrections should happen in the city, they were then ready and at hand to suppress them. This field of Mars was in imitation of that at Old Rome, where they mustered their soldiers, and must needs have been a very large place, as the same is excellently described and likewise observed to have been a Roman camp, by a judicious author in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign."

Of the TEMPLES of the Romans no specimens are now extant. In Norden's Middlesex, it is said, there was one near the Tilt Yard ; and Bagford makes no doubt of there having been a Temple of Diana on the south side of St. Paul's. The ruins of a building,

called the *Camera Dianæ*, situated on the eminence of St. Paul's Wharf, existed in the time of How, who wrote a continuation of Stowe, and the tenements which have been since erected on its site, are still designated in the leases of them as part and parcel of the ancient *Camera Dianæ*. From the accounts given of this structure, however, it does not appear to have been at all of the nature of a temple. The *Camera Dianæ* was a vaulted labyrinth, similar in its ground-plan to the celebrated Rosamond's Bower at Woodstock, and was employed by Henry the Second, of amorous memory, for the same purpose. The one was the country, and the other the town repository of this "jewel of his heart." "At this time," says How, "some ruins of it are remaining, and many evident testimonies of intricate turnings and windings, as also a subterraneous passage to Castle Baynard, which no doubt the king made use of privately to have access to his brightest Diana, one of the most exquisite and most celebrated beauties that we find mentioned in any history." The name *Camera Dianæ* had an obvious reference to those purposes of chaste seclusion, for which the building was designed; and it would be preferring a lesser probability to a greater, to suppose that it derived this appellation from having been erected on the same spot where a Roman temple of Diana previously stood.

In December, 1803, a large and very beautiful specimen of ROMAN MOSAIC was accidentally discovered by some workmen employed in digging for a sewer immediately opposite the East India House. It is preserved in the Honourable Company's Museum, and suggests to us a splendid idea of the extent

to which the Romans had carried the internal embellishment of their houses. It is about eleven feet square, and exhibits the centre of the floor of an apartment, which could not have been less than twenty-two feet square, but in all probability was considerably larger. The figure of the god Bacchus is represented reclining on the back of a tiger. The drawing, colouring, and shadows, are all effected with great skill and ingenuity, by the use of about twenty separate tints, composed of tessellæ, of different materials. The major part consist of baked earths, but the more brilliant colours of green and purple, which form the drapery, are of glass. These tessellæ are of different sizes and figures, adapted to the situations they occupy in the design ; and are placed in rows, either straight or curved, as occasion demanded, each tessella presenting to those around it a flat side. The interstices of mortar being thus very narrow, and the bearing of the pieces against each other uniform, the work in general possessed much strength, and was, very probably, when uninjured by damp, nearly as firm as the solid stone.

A mosaic pavement, with a similar device, was discovered in 1711-12 at Woodstock in Oxfordshire.

THE DARK AGES OF LONDON.

The departure of the Romans proved the commencement of a long train of calamities to London. The sun of her prosperity seemed to have set for ever. The Saxons, invited over to furnish that protection against the incursions of the Scots and Picts, which the Romans could no longer afford, violated the compact which gave

them a footing in the country ; and during the vain and sanguinary struggles of the British, for nearly a century and a half, to preserve themselves from Saxon subjugation, London, from its importance, became, more than any other part of the island, a prey to the evils of intestine war. When the Saxons had at last established themselves in the sovereignty of the country, it was no longer with London that the metropolitan sceptre was suffered to remain. Ethelbert, King of Kent, to whom all the Saxon nations, south of the Humber, were feudatory, made Canterbury the seat of his government ; and neglected London ceases to figure in history, except for the disasters which befel it. In 664, it was ravaged by the plague ; in 764, it was wasted by fire ; in 798, it again suffered severely from fire, and numbers of the inhabitants perished in the flames ; and in 801, before there was time to repair the ruin done, a third conflagration nearly completed the work of destruction. On the establishment of the Heptarchy under Egbert, A.D. 827, the fortunes of London brightened for a moment. Egbert chose it for his residence, and here, in 833, a wittenagemot, or parliament, was held. But on the invasion of England by the Danes soon after, they drove Egbert from his adopted capital, and after delivering it up to pillage and massacre, reduced nearly the whole to ashes.

Amidst such a succession of calamities, it was inevitable, that nearly all that beauty and magnificence which the Romans had imparted to London should for ever disappear. Its naked walls, in fact, alone remained ; and if a city, far transcending even the Roman Augusta, has since arisen within and around

them, it is to the British themselves that the merit and the fame belong.

THE DAYS OF ALFRED.

After a dismal lapse of nearly four centuries, the reign of the renowned Alfred brought, among many blessings, the restoration of London to its former greatness and prosperity.—Having, A. D. 884, freed the kingdom from the Danish yoke, he gave directions for rebuilding the desolated cities ; and of these, none claimed or received a larger share of his beneficent patronage than London. He repaired and strengthened its walls ; he prevailed on the inhabitants, whose houses had hitherto consisted almost wholly of wood—the cause of repeated conflagrations, to rebuild many of them of brick and stone ; he presented them with models of merchant ships, that would both sail better and carry larger cargoes than those of former times ; and he laid down the plan of that excellent system of municipal government which, with various modifications and improvements, subsists to the present day. With such aids and encouragements, the renovation of London proceeded so rapidly, and the spirit of its citizens so much revived, that notwithstanding an accidental fire in 893, which occasioned very considerable injury, it was in a few years in a condition, for the first time since the departure of the Romans, not only to defend itself against invasion, but to go forth and meet the invaders. In 895, when a predatory party of the Danes, under the command of Hastings, encouraged by the absence of Alfred from his capital, had advanced as far as Beamflete, the garrison of

London, joined by a body of gallant citizens who eagerly volunteered their services, went out and surprised the enemy in their camp, cut all who opposed them to pieces, took a great many prisoners, and "spoiled the spoilers."—When again, in 896, another body of the Danes had sailed up the river Lea to Ware, and posted themselves in a strong position between that place and Hertford, Alfred, at the head of his grateful and intrepid citizens, marched from London, attacked the enemy in their intrenchments, and compelled them to fly at all points.

THE DANISH CONQUEST.

In 994, about one century after the restoration of London by Alfred, during all which time it continued to increase in strength and opulence, the kings of Denmark and Norway, at the head of a numerous fleet and army, sailed up the Thames, with the hope of reducing the city to their power. The reins of the Saxon government were at this moment in the hands of the feeble and dastardly Ethelred II. and the citizens of London were left unassisted to the defence of their own walls. So bravely, however, did they defend them, that the enemy were repeatedly repulsed with great loss, and finally obliged to raise the siege. The Danes, though unable to make themselves masters of London, ceased not to harass every other part of the country with their incursions; till, weary of resistance, Ethelred abdicated his throne, and retired into Normandy, A. D. 1013. London, thus abandoned, was at length compelled to open her

gates ; and with her the whole of England submitted to the sceptre of Sweyn, king of Denmark.

On the accession of Canute, the son of Sweyn, to the throne, the citizens of London joined in the general effort made by the Saxons, under the brave Edmund Ironside, the son of Ethelred, to throw off the Danish yoke.—For a time the enterprise gave promise of a glorious triumph. Canute was obliged to abandon the capital to his rival, and, in 1016, Edmund Ironside was in London crowned king of England. Three times in the course of that year Canute returned and laid siege to it, but was as often repulsed with great loss. The contending princes, finding at length that their forces were too equally balanced, to give either a hope of sole dominion, entered into an agreement for a division of territory ; but scarcely had this compromise been made, when the assassination of the gallant Edmund, by his perfidious relation Edric Streon, depriving the Saxons of a leader, left Canute sovereign of all England.

KING CANUTE.

Historians have represented Canute as filled with resentment against London, for the strenuous resistance which it made to his pretensions, and its persevering attachment to the Saxon line. Of a tax of 82,000*l.* Saxon, which he imposed on the whole country, the portion for which he assessed London was nearly one-eighth ; and it is to this we are referred as a proof of the weight with which his vengeance fell upon this devoted city. It seems to us a great deal more probable, that one-eighth was only the

fair proportion which the wealth of London then bore to that of the rest of the kingdom ; for as yet agriculture had made but small progress in the inland counties ; there were few or no manufactures ; the bowels of the earth had scarcely begun to pour forth their mineral treasures ; and whatever profit could be derived from commerce with foreign nations, was almost wholly absorbed by the merchants of the Thames. Canute was too high minded to cherish an ungenerous recollection ; too wise, had it been otherwise, to satiate his revenge by the oppression of a people whom he wished to attach to his dominion. He proved, in fact, a beneficent conqueror. He established order and tranquillity throughout the country ; and was, perhaps, the first of our princes who was at the pains to protect his subjects in their commercial intercourse with foreign states, by treaties which had this alone for their object. A letter which William of Malmesbury has preserved, (l. 2. c. 11.) written by Canute to his regent in England, when he was on a pilgrimage to Rome, shows a solicitude on this head which does immortal honour to his memory. " I have conversed," he says, " with the pope, the emperor, and all the princes whom I found here, respecting the grievances imposed on my subjects, whether English or Danes, on visiting their several states ; and have *insisted* that in future they shall be treated more favourably, and exempted from the tolls and exactions of various kinds, *with which they have been hitherto harassed*. The emperor, king Rodolphus, and the other sovereigns, have accordingly listened to my remonstrances, and have assured me that henceforth no subject of mine, whether merchant

or pilgrim, passing through their territories, shall meet with any obstruction, or be made liable to the payment of any impost whatever."

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

After the death of Hardicanute, the third and last prince of the Danish line, the nation called to the throne a prince of the race of Alfred, in the person of Edward the Confessor. The privileges of London, which seem to have rested hitherto altogether upon usage and tradition, received from Edward their first statutory recognition; but what these privileges were does not distinctly appear. In the *Speculum*, one of the oldest records "*de antiquis legibus, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus civit. Lond.*," there is a great deal of romance about the privileges of London being "after the manner of old great Troy." The only certain fact we are able to collect from it is, that London possessed from time immemorial a right of conferring liberty on such slaves or vassals as should reside for a year and day within the city unclaimed by their lords; and that this was among the rights confirmed in general terms by Edward. The city was from this circumstance called *the Free Chamber of the King of England*; inasmuch as a slave so emancipated might ever afterwards "as freely and securely tarry there, as if he were in the house or chamber of the king." The value of such a privilege, at a time when the feudal system held all the rest of the kingdom in slavery, is beyond all calculation. It presented to the people at large the first chance of obtaining liberty through some other means than the

benevolent caprices of their feudatory lords ; it made London, to the rest of England, nearly what England has since become to all the world beside—the only spot, to touch which is to be free. Proud is the distinction which London thus enjoys, of having been the nursery of British liberty ! A distinction only equalled by another, to which London has no less a claim, that of being for ages the chief stronghold of that liberty which she nursed and reared. So justly have the citizens appreciated a blessing, which for a long time they almost exclusively enjoyed, that there are instances upon record of individuals having been degraded from the rank of citizens, solely because, forgetting the freedom to which they had been raised, they had *descended* to hold in *villainage* lands without the limits of the city.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NORMANS.

William the Norman, to whom popular fame has given the title of Conqueror, was not more so, perhaps, than William the Third, whom we style our Deliverer. He came over, like the Prince of Orange, at the head of an armed force ; but, like him too, it was to assert a claim which he possessed in virtue of family connexion. His first step in England was over the dead bodies of her sons ; but they were the bodies of those who fought for king Harold, a prince who was as much of an usurper as James the Second was of a tyrant. It was not by force of arms, but by treaty and compact, that William advanced to the now vacant throne. The Citizens of London, like the Men of Kent, agreed to receive William for their

king; but it was with arms in their hands, and with spirit to use them if they had been so inclined.— That the Normans should abuse the influence which they acquired by the elevation of their chief to the throne of England, was an event which might have been reasonably anticipated; but let us not confound want of prudence with want of courage. When England was more than six hundred years older, and wished to get rid of the Dutch guards, who helped the Prince of Orange to the throne; such even at that period were the chances of repentance, that William could say, in the bitterness of his heart, “ Had I a son, *these guards should not quit me.*”

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES RECOGNIZED BY WILLIAM I.

The conditions on which the citizens of London consented to William's assumption of the crown, formed the subject of a written charter, the first they ever possessed. It is still preserved among the city archives, and consists of only four lines, on a bit of parchment six inches long and one broad. The following is a literal translation of this interesting document.

“ *William the king greeteth William the bishop and Godfrey the portreve, and all the burgesses within London, friendly. And I acquaint you, that I will that ye be all there law-worthy, as ye were in king Edward's days. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's days. And I will not suffer that any man do you wrong. God preserve you.*”

To be *law-worthy* appears to have meant, that they should, in all cases of disputed right or alleged crime, be entitled to a legal trial; that they should not, like men who still remained in a state of vassalage, be liable, in their persons or possessions, to arbitrary rule.

That "*every child should be his father's heir*," insured the descent of property to the heirs of those who acquired it; an important privilege, for there were still numbers who held their lands and goods at the will of the feudal lords, and could never be sure of leaving any part of the fruits of their industry to their posterity.

We have before noticed, among the laws or customs of King Edward's days, referred to in this charter, that most important one of conferring freedom on every vassal or slave who could accomplish a residence of a year and day within the city, unclaimed by his lord. William not only confirmed this privilege to the City of London, but he extended it to all other cities and walled towns throughout the kingdom, and by the establishment of so many free asylums did probably more to accelerate the downfall of the feudal tyranny, than all the subsequent oppressions of the Normans contributed to retard it.

DECLARATORY CHARTER OF HENRY I.

The first circumstantial detail of the rights of the City of London was contained in a Charter of Confirmation, granted by William's son, Henry the First. Some of these have in the course of time been considerably modified; such as the exemption of the citizens from going (from *being obliged to go*) to war

(*nullus eorum faciat bellum*); their freedom from all tolls, duties, and customs, throughout the realm; and the privilege of hunting in Chiltre, Middlesex, and Surrey, now annually compounded for by a day's frolic at Epping. Others again have been lost entirely; particularly a right of summary execution against the goods of debtors without the walls: but the citizens have still, as is declared in this charter, the right of electing their own sheriffs and magistrates, and of being amenable only to courts held within the walls—for the rule, which is to this day observed by the King's Courts of holding sittings in each term at Guildhall for the City of London, is but the practical result of this privilege; and they are still exempted from having soldiers, or any of "the king's livery," quartered upon them. A stout sheriff of the city, named John de Causton, once resisted, *by force of arms*, an attempt to invade this last privilege within the verge of the Tower, in the time of Edward the Second; and on being prosecuted for this contempt, as it was called, of the king's authority, was brought in "*faulty in nothing*."

It is deserving of remark, that this declaratory charter makes no mention of the rights of inheritance and of conferring freedom, recognized by the charter of William the First; and the omission can only be explained by the supposition, that they had by this time become matters of such notoriety and necessity, as not to be reckoned among those rights which stood in need of confirmation. The omission was not, however, without its prejudicial consequences; for it gave occasion in the reign of Henry the Sixth to a writ of *insperimus*, issued for the express purpose of ascer-

taining on what ground the City of London claimed the privilege of emancipating servants and natives, "tarrying there for a year and a day." The return which the lord-mayor and aldermen made to this writ shewed, so satisfactorily, that both London and all other walled cities and towns now possessed this right, that it was again solemnly recognized and confirmed by the king.

ANNEXATION TO LONDON OF THE SHERIFFALTY OF MIDDLESEX.

Henry the First, in the same charter by which he declared and confirmed the privileges of the citizens of London, conferred on them, for an annual rent of 300*l.* to be paid to his majesty and his heirs for ever, the perpetual sheriffalty of Middlesex. Considering the low prices of provisions at this period, it would seem that they paid dear for the acquisition. For such was the prosperous state of the country during the reign of Henry the First, that corn, sufficient for a day's consumption of one hundred persons, could be purchased for the small sum of one shilling ; and a pint of wine was sold at the taverns for a penny, with bread for nothing ! The prices of these articles have since increased at least forty-fold, so that three hundred pounds, paid by the City of London in the time of Henry the First for the privilege of giving sheriffs to the county of Middlesex, were equal to not less than twelve thousand pounds at the present day. The privilege was by no means, however, a nominal one, though extravagantly paid for. The internal government of so large and increasing a metropolis as London,

could never have been well administered without it. Already had it suffered severely from the ease with which offenders could escape from the jurisdiction of its magistrates into the adjoining county of Middlesex ; and it was to remedy this grievance, that the citizens were now content to pay the price of a principality, to unite the powers of the sheriffalties of London and Middlesex in two freemen of their own nomination.

ADVANCEMENT UNDER RICHARD I.

The reign of Richard the First, though not one of glory or prosperity to England, cannot be said to have been productive of much positive harm. He scattered charters among his subjects, in order to raise the means of pursuing his schemes of adventure in foreign lands ; but they were charters of liberty. He left his people in a great measure to shift for themselves ; but the evil consequences of interfering little with the pursuits of an industrious nation, do not appear to have been enormous. When the chivalrous knight-errantry of Richard had terminated in an Austrian dungeon, London was both able and generously forward to contribute largely to his ransom ; and on his return from captivity, such was the civic magnificence with which he was received in his ancient capital, that a German nobleman, who attended Richard to England, was constrained to observe, that “ had his master, the emperor, been aware of the wealth of the King of England’s subjects, he would have demanded a far higher sum for his release.”

Richard was not unmindful of the loyal services which London rendered on this occasion. He granted the citizens a confirmation of all their rights and privileges, such as they existed in "the freest and best" periods of their history, and he farther conferred upon them the Conservatorship of the river Thames, and the power of fixing a standard of weights and measures for the whole realm.

FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER, AND ITS JUNCTION WITH LONDON.

For several centuries after the foundation of London, the space which is now covered by the sister city of Westminster consisted of a small island, called *Thorney*, in consequence, says Stowe, of its being "a place overgrown with thorns, and environed with waters." Here, according to monkish chronicles, there anciently stood a heathen temple of Apollo, out of the ruins of which Sebert, King of the East Saxons, after his conversion to Christianity A.D. 612, erected a church, which he dedicated to St. Peter, and which forms the east angle of what is now called Westminster Abbey. Sir Christopher Wren, however, could not discover in the materials of this structure the least trace of Heathen or Roman art; and it is to be feared, therefore, that the authors of the legend have but played, after a plausible manner, with our credulity, in describing this monument of Christian worship as rising on the ruins of Pagan superstition. The church of St. Peter's was certainly one of the earliest architectural monuments of the introduction of Christianity into Britain; but it was

in all probability not erected till after the principal remains of the Roman power had been swept away amidst the furious struggles, which ended in the subversion of Britain to the Saxons.

When the Danes began, in their turn, to contend for mastery with the Saxons, the church of St. Peter's suffered severely from their devastations; and but for the piety of Edgar the Peaceable, who repaired it in 958, and, at the same time, erected it into a monastic establishment, it might not have survived the downfall of the Saxon dynasty. From its situation to the westward of London, it was now called (in Monkish Latin) *Westmonasterium*, and hence the modern name of *Westminster*.

On the temporary restoration of the Saxon dynasty in the person of Edward the Confessor, Westminster was one of the few places to which that event proved auspicious. By the penitentiary labours of this sceptred monk, the abbey was enlarged into that magnificent fabric which, embellished by Sir Christopher Wren, now stands the admiration of the world; and near to it he erected a palace (on the site since called Old Palace Yard) which, though now no more, made Westminster the seat of royalty, as well as of ecclesiastical splendour.

The courts of law and parliament necessarily attached themselves to the spot where our kings resided; and contributed, in a very material degree, to raise Westminster to dignity and importance.

In 1257, Henry III. granted to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster the privilege of holding a market and fair, for the space of forty days; and in 1352, the town had so much increased, that Westmin-

ster was one of the ten places where, by act of parliament, the staple of wool was to be perpetually held.

An order of council was passed in the ensuing year (1353), which imposed a duty on every pack of wool, as well as all other goods, "carried either by land or water to the staple of Westminster;" "for the purpose of repairing the highway leading from the gate of London, called Temple Bar, to the gate of the Abbey at Westminster." It is evident from this record, that London and Westminster were then regarded as distinct towns; but it would be, perhaps, too much to infer, that "the highway" between them, "now the noble street, called the Strand, was not then built upon, but was a mere country road, having, however, many noblemen's and gentlemen's houses and gardens adjoining to it," &c. (Hughson, vol. i. p. 78.) For we learn, from the same order of council, that the cause of the impost was, the "highway being, by the frequent passing of carts and horses, carrying merchandize and provisions to the said staple, become so deep and miry, and the *pavement* so broken and worn, as to be very dangerous both to men and carriages;" and we farther find, that it was ordained, that "all owners of houses, adjacent to the highway, should repair as much as *lay before their doors*."—It seems pretty clear from these parts of the edict, that even at this early period the buildings of both cities had extended considerably beyond their respective gates, along the line of the highway between them; although probably they did not reach on either side as far as Charing Cross, which is supposed to have derived its name from a village, called Charing, which anciently stood midway between London and Westminster.

The privilege which Westminster possessed, of holding a fair for forty days every year, was fenced with a prohibitory clause, by which, during all that time, no sales were permitted, either in London or in any of the places adjacent. As trade and population increased, the evil consequences of this monopoly came to be very severely felt by the citizens of London. The corporation, therefore, opened a negotiation with the Abbot, for the redemption of this part of their privilege, and found him so well disposed to prefer a present good to all prospective advantages, that for the sum of 8,000*l.* he abandoned the right to a fair altogether. By this stroke of priestly cupidity, Westminster, which had been rising fast in commercial importance, was almost entirely cut off from this source of prosperity, and left to depend in future, chiefly, upon those advantages which it derived from being the residence of the court. The Genius of Trade took its leave of her for ever; and Fashion became henceforth the tutelary deity of Westminster.

On the general suppression of the monasteries by Henry the Eighth, that of Westminster was converted into a bishopric; but in 1550 the bishopric of Westminster merged in that of Norwich. It was this temporary possession of a mitre which conferred on Westminster the rank of a *city*; and though the mitre is gone, the popular voice, inclining always to reason in its decisions, has refused to give an inferior title to a place, which, though no longer a bishop's see, is the seat of supreme power both in church and state.

Since that period, Westminster has spread so ex-

tremely on all sides, and become so interlaced with London, that the two cities have lost every external mark of separation. (Temple Bar alone excepted), and with their respective precincts, and the borough of Southwark, now constitute what, in popular language, is called the BRITISH METROPOLIS.

THE GREAT CHARTER.

On the accession of King John to the throne, the citizens of London paid three thousand marks to him for a confirmation of their liberties.—“It shall be delivered to them,” said the royal mandate, “on these terms, that if they will give those 5000 marks they shall have the charter; but *if not, they shall not have it.*” On the field of Runnymede, this mercenary tyrant was afterwards content to give them what they pleased, on their own terms. The general resistance which produced that glorious declaration of the rights of Englishmen, *Magna Charta*, had its first rise under the city banner. The castellan and standard bearer of London, at this period, was Robert Fitzwalter, a gallant knight of Norman descent, and lord of Baynard’s Castle, an ancient and princely fabric, from which one of the wards of the city derived its name. This knight had a daughter, called *Matilda the Fair*, whose beauty attracted the admiration of the king. John came not, however, as an honorable suitor, and when his proposals were repelled with indignation, he threatened to have recourse to violence. Fitzwalter appealed to his brother barons, to aid him in protecting his child from the polluting grasp of the tyrant. With hono-

rable alacrity they obeyed the call; and from the battlements of Baynard's Castle, the city banner waved defiance to aggression. John, whom a continued series of misdeeds had deprived of all favour with his subjects, was unable to muster a force sufficient to cope with so formidable an opposition; and yielding reluctantly to the necessity of his situation, he affected to have abandoned all design against the honour of Fitzwalter's family, and by the strongest assurances of respect for the rights of the barons, prevailed with them to disperse their forces. No sooner, however, did he find himself alone in the field, than he violated every promise he had made. Taking Fitzwalter by surprise, he compelled him to fly the country; razed his castle of Baynard to the ground; and when the unfortunate Matilda, whom her father, in his sudden flight, had been forced to leave behind him, still resisted all his entreaties, he is said to have destroyed by poison that beauty which he could not enjoy. The day of retribution at length arrived.—Fitzwalter had taken refuge in France, and fought on the side of the French in their battles with the English under King John. During the truce which took place in 1214, an English knight rode into the space between the two armies, and challenged any one of the opposite side to a trial of prowess. Fitzwalter, mounted on a noble charger, instantly came forth to accept the challenge, and at the first course struck both the English champion and his horse to the ground. John, admiring the gallantry of the stranger, warmly exclaimed, "He were a king, indeed, who had such a knight." Fitzwalter had been recognized by some old friends in the En-

glish camp, and on hearing this observation from John, they kneeled down, and said, " May it please your majesty, he is your own knight ; it is Robert Fitzwalter." John, repenting the injury he had done to the gallant knight, next day effected a reconciliation with him, and publicly restored to him all the possessions of which he had been so unjustly deprived. Fitzwalter, however, returned to England only to find new cause, in common with his fellow citizens, to detest the arbitrary rule of John ; and we accordingly behold him again a leader against the king, in that patriotic struggle which obtained for England the Great Charter of its liberty. By the thirteenth article of this charter it is specially provided, " That the City of London, and all other cities, burghs, and towns, and ports of the kingdom, shall enjoy all their free customs both by land and water."

Of the military importance of the citizens of London about this period, contemporary writers give us a very high idea. Although exempted by their charters from " going to war," they appear to have been naturally of so martial a temperament, and so forward in the assertion of their rights, even at the point of the sword, that William of Malmesbury assures us, they " shewed at a muster 20,000 armed horsemen, and 40,000 footmen, serviceable for the wars." In this number, however, were doubtless included the followers of many noblemen and chiefs, who resided in the city, or who, from various causes, considered themselves identified with it ; for so large a quota is wholly incompatible with every account we have of the ancient population of London.

Speaking of the commercial prosperity to which

London had now reached, the same writer describes it as "a noble city, renowned for the opulence of her citizens, and crowded with the merchants who resort thither with their various commodities." Corn was still, as in the time of the Romans, their chief article of commerce; "they had their granaries always filled, whence all parts of the kingdom were supplied."

EARLY WEALTH AND LUXURY.

The commencement of the reign of John's successor, Henry the Third, presents us with a very striking display of the wealth for which the citizens of London were now, above all other classes of their fellow subjects, distinguished.

When it was known, that Queen Eleanor was to ride through the city to be crowned at Westminster, the chief citizens, to the number of three hundred and sixty, preceded by a band of trumpeters, went out to welcome her majesty. They were all clothed in silken garments, richly embroidered with gold; and mounted on horses, most splendidly caparisoned. Every man bore a cup of gold or silver in his hand; and having joined in the royal train, these three hundred and sixty cup-bearers served the wine, as butlers, at the coronation of her majesty.

The prodigality and misrule of Henry the Third soon destroyed that cordiality which, at first, subsisted between him and the city. When, however, his necessities became so great, that he was obliged to pawn the crown jewels for an immediate supply, it was to the citizens he was forced to have recourse.

Angry that they should accept a pledge which it was ignominious in him to give, he passionately exclaimed, " Were the treasures of Augustus Cæsar exposed to sale, the city would buy them. These fellows, who call themselves barons, are wallowing in wealth and every species of luxury, whilst we labour under the want of common necessaries." Had Henry acted the part of a just or prudent prince, he would probably have had as little occasion to doubt the generosity as the ability of the citizens of London. What he accounted a meanness in them, was but an act of patriotic discretion ; for there can be little doubt that had not the crown jewels of England been kept in English hands, they would have found their way to the more usual money-lenders of those days, the Burghers of Antwerp, or Jews of Amsterdam.

When the citizens had to deal with princes, not embarrassed through their personal follies, but impoverished by honourable enterprises for their country's benefit or renown, they stayed not for pledges to administer most liberally to their wants. They presented the hero of Crescy with a free gift of twenty thousand marks, to pursue his honourable warfare in France ; and their mayor, the celebrated Whittington, at an entertainment given at Guildhall to the hero of Agincourt, threw into a fire of spices bonds which he held from that monarch, for money advanced, to the amount of no less than sixty thousand pounds!

It must be allowed, indeed, that although the citizens of London were occasionally thus liberal to their sovereigns, there was, in general, a considerable degree of reserve between the city and the court, on the score of money transactions. London, which is

now the mart for loans to all the powers and potentates of the known world, seems of old to have had an almost insurmountable antipathy to all pecuniary bargains concluded with the pen in one hand, and the sword in the other. Even till as late a period as the reign of Elizabeth, our sovereigns were obliged to have recourse to the merchants of Antwerp for such loans as they required; and though the citizens of London often became security for these loans, because without it they could not have been obtained, they could never be induced, except as in the case of Henry the Third, when the jewels of the crown were to be saved, to become themselves the lenders. Can any one be in doubt as to the reason? Notwithstanding all the charters, and confirmations of charters, granted by the sovereigns of England to their subjects—property was still insecure. A king of England might still deny to his own subjects that justice, which he would not, or durst not, deny to those of another; and the citizens of Antwerp, making common cause with all citizens, would naturally be disposed to push kings to the utmost, before they harassed a plebeian surety for payment. The first considerable loan, effected in England, solely on the personal security of an English monarch, was negotiated by Sir Thomas Gresham, in behalf of Queen Elizabeth; and this fact we may regard as a certain indication, that her government approached nearer to one of order and law, than any which England had ever known since the days of Alfred. Her majesty paid the interest of the loan regularly, until she was in a situation to discharge the principal; and it has been ever since found, that it is only necessary to observe

the same simple rule of honesty, to find at home, and in London itself, whatever aid the exigencies of the public service require.

The opulence of the citizens of the olden time was in no instance more laudably displayed, than in doing honour to such illustrious strangers, as friendship to the monarch, or the chances of war, brought to England. In 1363, Henry Picard, who had some years before served the office of Lord Mayor, gave a splendid entertainment, at his house in Cheapside, to King Edward the Third, King John of France, King David of Scotland, and the King of Cyprus; an honour such as no citizen ever before enjoyed.

Among the citizens themselves, there appears to have been a constant rivalry in sumptuous and costly living. A dish fit for an alderman, in those days, while turtle was as yet unknown, was one of eels, so lusciously dressed, as to cost about five pounds, equal to at least eighty pounds of our present money (Fitzstephen). At the annual Spittal feast, the cost to the sheriffs, for wine alone, was, about the middle of the sixteenth century, 600*l.*; so, that supposing the guests to have drank of Malmsey only, which, though the most choice wine of that period, cost no more than one shilling a gallon, there must have been emptied, on this occasion, the incredible number of forty-eight thousand bottles!

The expense of feasting became, at length, so excessive, that in 1554 the corporation found it necessary to pass a bye-law to restrain it. "So huge and great," says this curious document, had "the charges of the mayoralty and shrievealty" become through this means, "that almost all good citizens

lie and refuse to serve in this honorable city, only because of the great excess and chargeable fare and diet, used in the time of the said offices." To remedy this grievance, it was ordained, that no mayor, or sheriff, or alderman, or commoner, should have at dinner or supper more courses than one, and not more dishes at one course than six, whether hot or cold. Some curious reservations, however, follow, which show, on the part of the corporation, a prudent care to soften, as much as possible, the *hardship* of this limitation. It is provided, that "one or two of the same six dishes may come to the board hot, *as a reward*, if they will, after the first three or five are served." It is farther specially declared, that neither brawn, nor collops with eggs, nor sallads, nor pottage, nor butter, nor cheese, nor eggs, nor herrings, nor sprats, nor shrimps, nor any shell fish whatever, nor any kind of unbaked fruit, are to "be accounted for any of the said number of dishes above-mentioned!" And moreover, as the guests could not be supposed, after such penurious fare, to have any disposition to make merry, it was decreed, that "from henceforth neither mayors nor sheriffs shall keep any lord of misrule (merry andrew or fool) in any of their said houses." All these regulations, it will be observed, had reference only to the private and family entertainments of the citizens; for it is yet farther provided, that when a foreign ambassador, or any of the privy council, happens to be of the party, the feast may be "amended and ordered" at discretion.

It is not surprising, that a sumptuary edict so pleasantly qualified as this should contribute but little to the repression of inordinate appetites. In 1573, we

find it again a matter of grave lamentation, that there should be such an excess of good things at the tables of the chief magistrates, and of the companies ; nay, at the very taverns and cookshops, the consumption of venison, we are told, was shameful, “ insomuch that the *court* was much offended with it.” The common council, therefore, in order “ that the city might not continue to give the queen and nobility offence,” issued another commandment, by which they forbade all such extravagant feasting in future, except at their “ necessary meetings,” and ordered that, even on these necessary occasions, (most incredible sacrifice !) there should be *no venison*.

We may judge, from the ideas of moderation conveyed by these sumptuary laws, what the extravagance of the times preceding them must have been. Need we wonder, that the love of good eating should have become that “ crying sin,” for which, according to the popular opinion, this great metropolis was, not long after, nearly reduced to ashes. A curious memorial of the general prevalence of this belief is still to be seen at the Fortune of War public-house, in Giltspur-street. It is the figure of a very fat boy, commonly called “ the glutton,” beneath which there was, till very lately, this inscription :—

“ This boy is put up in memory of the great fire of London, occasioned by the sin of gluttony, 1666.”

It is a curious enough coincidence, that it was in *Pudding-lane* that the fire commenced, though not true as generally said that it was at *Pie-corner* it ended.

SIR RICHARD WHITTINGTON.

The City of London has produced no name more likely to last through all time, than that of Sir Richard Whittington. His rise in life forms the subject of a nursery tale, so instructively pleasing, that nurseries and story-telling must cease to exist, and every corner of Old England be divided into rational parallelograms, before we can expect to find a person, grown to the years of maturity, who has not heard of "Whittington and his cat," and, at one time, believed every thing he has been told of their wondrous adventures. It is not, however, on nursery authority alone, that the boy rests his admiration of this prodigy of good fortune; for who, that on a holiday ramble has sauntered to Highgate Hill, has not seen at the bottom of it the identical stone on which Whittington, after running away from his master, sat ruminating on his fate till he heard Bow bells ringing this prophetic peal in his ears :

" Turn again, Whittington,
Thrice Lord Mayor of London."

The stone, it is true, seems not very old; but it has the words "WHITTINGTON'S STONE" inscribed on it in large letters, and can juvenile credulity require more?

The story of Whittington and his cat is not, after all, so remote from possibility as might be imagined. Mr. Southey, in his *History of the Brazils*, relates, that "the first couple of cats which were carried to Cuyuba, sold for a pound (pound's weight) of gold. There was a plague of cats in the settlement, and

they (the cats) were purchased as a speculation, which proved *an excellent one*. Their first kittens produced thirty *oitavas* each; the next generation were worth twenty; and the price gradually fell as the inhabitants were stocked with these beautiful and useful creatures." In the east, also, according to a Persian MS. quoted by Sir William Gore Ouseley, there is an island, which derived its name from a circumstance of the same kind.—In the tenth century, one Keis, the son of a poor widow of Siraf, embarked for India with his sole property, a cat; there he fortunately arrived, at a time when the palace was so infested by mice or rats, that they invaded the king's food, and persons were employed to drive them from the royal banquet. Keis produced his cat, the noxious animals soon disappeared, and magnificent rewards were bestowed on the adventurer of Siraf, who returned to that city, and afterwards, with his mother and brothers, settled in the island, which, from him, has been denominated Keis, or, according to the Persians, Keish." Mr. Collet, an intelligent collector of RELICS, asserts, without hesitation, that the story of Whittington and his Cat is "borrowed" from this tale of the east; but to adopt this inference would be to admit, that mere resemblance constitutes community of fiction. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that there may have been a plague of rats, and that cats may have been worth their weight in gold, more than once since the world began.

Although it is just possible, therefore, that the story of Whittington and his Cat, as it exists in nursery records, may have had some foundation in fact, there are few who will not be desirous of a more pro-

bable explanation of his extraordinary rise in life. Foote, in his comedy of "the Nabob," makes Sir Matthew Mite offer to the Society of Antiquaries a suggestion on the subject, which is not without ingenuity, whatever degree of truth it may possess.—"The commerce," says Sir Matthew, "which this worthy merchant carried on was chiefly confined to our coasts; for this purpose he constructed a vessel, which from its agility and lightness he aptly christened *a cat*. Nay, to this day, gentlemen, all our coals from Newcastle are imported in nothing but *cats*; from hence it appears, that it was not the whiskered, four-footed, mouse-killing cat, but the coasting, sailing, coal-carrying cat—that, gentlemen, was Whittington's cat."

We have the authority of Shakespeare for believing, that "the squandering glances of the fool" may often light upon facts that have escaped the penetration of wiser men. Although thrown out at random, this conjecture of Foote's happens to derive strong confirmation from some remarkable facts in the life of Whittington, and of the period in which he lived. It was necessary for a foundation to the fable, that the boy Whittington should be destitute and poor; but that this picture of his youth is wholly ideal, there is the strongest presumptive evidence. In the ordinances of the college which he founded, and which goes by his name, he is stated to have been the son of *Sir William Whittington, Knight*. It would appear, that there was a connection between this Sir William and the Lords of Whittington in Derbyshire, but it must have been through some younger branch of the family; for we read, that in 1083 the lordship

of Whittington passed into the possession of Guarine de Metz, who had won by his superior prowess the hand of Mollet, or Molde, the sole daughter and heiress of the Lord of Whittington, at a tournament held for the purpose of thus bestowing the lady, at Peveril's Place, or Castle, in the Peak. The posterity of Guarine and Molde assumed the name of Fitzwarren; and there is reason to believe, that it was into this family Sir Richard, the hero of the fable, married, for his wife is stated to have been an Alice Fitzwarren, the daughter of "Hugh Fitzwarren and Dame Molde his wife." When Sir Richard grew up in life, he is said to have been of the *Mercer's* company; but, like many others who have belonged to it, he was not a mercer, but a merchant. In the inscription to his memory in St. Michael's church, he is styled "*Flos Mercatorum*,"—"The Flower of Merchants." What the branch of merchandize was in which he engaged, is the point on which conjecture is to decide.

While Whittington was yet a boy, the burning of coal was considered such a public nuisance, that it was prohibited by an act of parliament, under pain of death; but it is singular enough, that by the time he had been "thrice Lord Mayor of London," (1419,) and although there is no trace of any repeal, in the interim, of the prohibitory statute, the importation of coal formed a considerable branch of the commerce of the Thames. "As early as 1421," says Mr. Brand in his *History of Newcastle*, "it appears to be a trade of great importance, and that a duty of two-pence per chaldron had been imposed-upon it for some time." To account for the trade having made such progress, while a statute

against it remained unrepealed, and of such rigorous operation, that, according to a record in the Tower, a person was once actually executed for offending against it (Sir Everard Home's Dissertations) we must suppose, that the crown had exercised that dispensing power, which it assumed in the earlier periods of our history, and had permitted to the lieges generally the importation of the forbidden commodity ; or, what is more probable, because more consistent with the court practices of those days, granted to some favoured individual a license to make his fortune, by infringing the law. It would be making a bold leap to a conclusion to say, that Sir Richard Whittington was the individual on whom this privilege was conferred ; and yet the supposition is countenanced by a very strong declaration in the foundation charter of Whittington's college. The members of it are directed to remember in their prayers " Richard the Second, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, *special lords and promoters of the said Richard Whittington ;*" showing distinctly, that it was to some special privilege or favour conferred on him by these princes, that he was indebted for his rise in life.

It is farther extremely worthy of observation, that from the first opening of the coal trade in England, and for ages after, it had a reputation for making fortunes, only exceeded by that of the mines of Golconda and Peru. Even as late as 1649, when Grey wrote his *Chorographia of the Coal Trade*, it could still excite the most splendid hopes. " Some south gentlemen," says Grey, " have, upon great hope of benefit, come into this country to hazard their monies in coal-pits. Master Beaumont, a gentleman

of great ingenuity and rare parts, adventured into our mines with his 30,000*l.* But within a few years, he consumed all his money, and rode home upon his light horse."

Many circumstances thus combine to heighten the probability, that Sir Richard Whittington, who flourished at the same time with the commencement of this trade, was one of those who made a fortune by it; and that it was, as Sir Matthew says, "the coasting, sailing, coal-carrying *cat*," that was the real instrument of his aggrandizement. It had only to become a bye-word, that by *a cat and a king* he had made his fortune; and popular invention would soon supply all the other lineaments of the story.

In the print of Whittington by Elstrucke, he is represented with a grimalkin by his side; but Granger, our best historian of portraits, says, that it was substituted for a skull, which originally occupied its place, as the common people did not chuse to purchase the print without their favourite traditional emblem.

In whatever channel of commerce Sir Richard acquired his wealth, it is certain that he employed it in a very noble manner. We have seen how unbounded was his gratitude to the crown for the favours he had received from it, by the gift which he made to Henry the Fifth, of a sum equal to, at least, half a million of our present money. "Never before," said Whittington, "had subject such a king;" and well did Henry reply, "nor king such a subject." But it was not on the court alone that he lavished his treasures. Sir Richard was a liberal benefactor to the city, over which he had so often the honour to preside. At his own expense, he built the chapel of Guildhall, and the library

of Christ's Hospital; made large additions to the Guildhall and St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and left funds to his executors for entirely rebuilding the prison of Newgate, which was previously in a most ruinous and miserable condition. He, besides, annexed to the church of St. Michael's a college of priests, called after his name, with an alms-house for thirteen poor persons; and to use the words of his executors, in the ordinances of the college, "while he lived had ryghte liberal and large hands to the needy and poor."

If ever mortal remains deserved to "rest in peace," those of Sir Richard Whittington demanded this tribute of respect from posterity; yet, strange to say, they have been more, perhaps, than those of most men, the sport of rude and unhallowed hands. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the minister of St. Michael's church, to which he had been so liberal a benefactor, in the base hope of finding some riches interred with the corpse, caused the tomb to be broken open; and when disappointed in his golden visions, rather than come away with nothing, he despoiled the body of its leaden covering. In the succeeding reign, the parishioners resolved to restore it; and again were the remains of this eminent man disturbed, in order to be re-clothed in that vesture, of which the previous indignity had deprived them.

The house in which Whittington resided is still to be seen in Swithin's-passage, Moor-lanc.

ANCIENT SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

"Let us come now," as honest Fitzstephen says,

“ to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit, that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful.”

In the olden time, the inhabitants of the metropolis united the duties of the citizen with the relaxations and recreations of the country 'squire. Fitzstephen notices, that the citizens delighted in hawks and hounds, and the “common hunt” still gives a yearly salary to an officer of the lord-mayor's household, whose duty it is to take care of a pack of hounds, which the corporation is entitled to keep. The exercise of hunting is now little indulged in by the citizens, “not, however,” says Stowe, “for want of taste for the amusement, but for want of leisure to pursue it.” The “common hunt,” who used to purchase his place, which sometimes sold as high as 1500*l.*, had formerly a house in Finsbury-fields, where the hounds were kept, particularly “the deep, full-mouthed hounds,” and he had a yearly salary and perquisites.

“In the holydays all the summer,” says the same historian, “the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields. The maidens trip with their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see.

“In winter, every holiday before dinner, the bears prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls or bears are baited. When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice: some striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as mill-stones. One sits down, many hand in hand do draw him,

and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together. Some tie bones to their feet and under their heels, and shoving themselves by a little picked staff do slide swiftly, as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow."

The most gallant of the youthful exercises of these times, was that of running at the quintain. This game is of Roman origin. On an upright post, a cross bar was placed horizontally, which turned upon a swivel. A board was nailed to one end of this bar, and a bag of sand to the other. It was the custom to tilt against the board, on horseback, with a spear, or long staff; and it required great dexterity to avoid being struck with the bag of sand as it swung round. At this city exercise in 1253, some of the household of Henry III., being present, chose to deride the performances of the citizens, who, resenting the affront, beat "his majesty's servants severely." For this act of just resentment, the city was fined a thousand marks. The fields were more usually the scene of this pastime; but it was frequently permitted even in the heart of the City. "I have seen, says Stowe, "a quintain set up in Cornhill, near the Leadenhall, where the attendants on the Lord of Merrydisports have run and made great pastime; for he that hit not the board end of the quintain, was of all men laughed to scorn." The greatest feat which could be accomplished at this game was, to break the board, and escape the revolving blow of the bag of sand. Whoever did so, was accounted for the time "*Princeps Juventutis*," the prince or chief of the youths. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, says, that this game was still to be met with in his time at Dedding-

ton; and Dr. Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, mentions, that he had seen it at the village of Blackthorn, where he thinks it had been introduced as in London by the Romans, the Roman way lying through that village.

At the Easter holidays, there used to be a sort of water quintain on the river, where boats supplied the place of horses. The tilter stood with his lance in the prow, leaving the boat to be carried by the force of the stream against a shield suspended from a pole. If he broke his lance and kept his place in the boat, he was loudly applauded; but if, as was more frequently the case, the shock threw him into the water, "there were upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river side, standing great numbers to see and laugh thereat."

Archery became also a favourite game with the citizens, and was very successfully cultivated. It appears at one time, however, to have been supplanted by sports of a less noble order; for there is a writ extant, from Edward III. to the citizens of London, in which he thus reprimands them on the subject: "The King, to the Citizens of London, greeting: Because the people of our realm, as well of good quality as mean, have commonly in their sports, before these times, exercised the skill of shooting arrows, whence it is well known that honour and profit have accrued to our whole realm; and to us, by the help of God, no small assistance in our warlike acts: and now the said skill, being as it were wholly laid aside, the same people pleasing themselves in hurling of stones, and wood, and iron, and some hand ball, foot ball, bandy ball, and in lumbrick and cock fighting; and some also

apply themselves to other dishonest games, and less profitable or useful, whereby the said realm is likely in a short time to become destitute of archers;" his majesty therefore commanded "every one of the said City, strong in body" to cultivate the art of archery, and to leave off the other games to which they had betaken themselves, under pain of imprisonment. In consequence of this compulsory order, archery became speedily again the favorite amusement, and continued to be so, long after it had ceased to be of importance in a military point of view. In Henry the Eighth's time, it was as much in vogue as at any period of our history. The king himself was fond of it, and used to repair frequently to Mile End to witness the performances of the citizens. Many of the most skilful archers received nominal titles, as the Duke of Shoreditch (a title given by Henry VIII. to one Barlow), the Marquis of Clerkenwell or Hogsden, Earl of Pancras, &c. In the year 1583, there was a great shooting match, when a vast body of the citizens marched in great pomp, singularly dressed, through the principal streets of London, to Smithfield, the scene of contest. Their attire is said to have been very gorgeous; 942 of them wearing chains of gold. The number of archers that shot was 3000, and their attendants exceeded that number.

Wrestling was another favourite amusement, and the lord-mayor and citizens frequently attended to encourage the youths engaged in this athletic game at Clerkenwell. In the year 1222, at a match of wrestling near St. Giles's, the citizens challenged those in the suburbs and city of Westminster, and beat them, which so irritated the bailiff of Westminster, that he

determined on a base and treacherous revenge. He proclaimed a game to be held at Westminster on Lammas day, to which the citizens were invited, and attended. When they had played some time, the bailiff, with a large party, suddenly furnished themselves with arms, and treacherously attacked the citizens, who, being unarmed, fled to the city, where they sounded the alarm, by ringing the common bell. The citizens assembled in great numbers, eager for revenge, when one Constantine Fitz-Arnult, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the lord-mayor, who promised to obtain redress, urged the multitude to join him in pulling down the house of the Abbot of Westminster, and several others. A few days afterwards, the Chief Justice of England, Hubert de Burgh, with a great army of men, repaired to the Tower, and, sending for the lord-mayor and aldermen, demanded the ring-leaders. Constantine gave himself up, and, with two others, was executed next morning, although he offered 15,000 marks for his life.

As the fields around London came, in the progress of improvement, to be divided and enclosed, the tilting at the quintain, archery, wrestling, and all other *field* sports began to decline; and at the period at which we have now arrived, they have entirely disappeared. In 1514, much discontent prevailed among the populace, on account of the abridgments which were constantly taking place in the theatre of their rural pastimes; and being stirred up by a fellow who went about disguised in the dress of a merry-andrew, calling out for "spades and shovels," they resolved to take the work of redress into their own hands. A great

multitude of them assembling, armed with these weapons, they soon levelled with the ground all the newly erected fences and enclosures about Shoreditch, Hoxton, Islington, &c. Government censured the magistrates severely for neglect of duty in not preventing this tumultuary proceeding; but that cannot be considered as a proceeding altogether without apology, which the government itself, about a century after, sanctioned by an act of its own, as nearly similar (in intention at least) as possible. James the First, in the eighth of his reign, granted a commission to several persons of distinction, for the purpose, it states, of "stopping the practice of enclosing the ground formerly used for archery, by making of banks and hedges in such fields and closes, as, time out of mind, were allowed to be shot in." It empowers the commissioners "to go upon these places, and to view and survey in such grounds next adjoining to the City of London and the suburbs, within two miles compass; and the same to reduce in such order and state for the archers, as they were in the reign of King Henry VIII., and to cause the banks, ditches, and quicksets, to be *made plain and reformed*." It is scarcely necessary to state, that this commission was never carried into effect; nor would it now be of any avail, to inquire into the causes which made it inoperative. That it would have been injurious to the public interest, and oppressively unjust to individuals, had it been fully executed, must be sufficiently obvious; but we may be permitted to regret, that it should have been so entirely neglected, and the cultivation of the robust virtues so much disregarded, that a population

of about a million of souls is now left with scarcely a single open spot on which they can indulge in athletic and manly exercises.

Excluded from the fields, the citizens were forced to turn to such pastimes, as the narrower limits of their streets, courts, and squares, and the safety of the passengers, would allow. The proscribed games of the days of Edward III., hand-ball, foot-ball, throwing of bars, cock-fighting, &c. came again into fashion; and hence the skittle-grounds, bowling-greens, tennis-courts, which now form the chief resorts of the London artizans, in their hours of recreation.

It appears, that even as late as the time of Charles the Second, the citizens were still allowed, without hindrance, to make the streets the scene of their most boisterous amusements. Sir William Davenant, in a satirical description which he gives of London, at this time, in a letter to a friend, says, "I would now make a safe retreat, but that, methinks, I am stopt by one of your heroic games, called foot-ball, which, I conceive, (under your favour) not very conveniently civil in the streets, especially in such irregular and narrow roads as Crooked Lane. Yet it argues your courage, much like your military pastime of throwing at cocks; but your metal would be much magnified, (since you have long allowed these two valiant exercises in the streets,) to draw your archers from Finsbury, and during high market let them shoot at butts, in Cheapside." The citizens ("under favour" to Davenant) had some reason to complain, that the streets alone were left them to exercise in; and it was thought prudent probably, to allow their feelings on the subject to die away, before the municipal government

interfered to put a stop to what must, indeed, have been a great nuisance.

The most celebrated holiday of early times, was *May-day*. A may-pole, or shaft, used to be erected, on that occasion, in the middle of the street, before the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, of such height, that it over-topped the steeple; and hence it was, that the parish, which was originally called St. Andrew only, acquired the addition of *Undershaft*. Chaucer describing a lofty braggart, says, he bears his head as high as "the great shaft of Cornhill."

Lord, so merrily
Crowdeth then your croke,
That all the street
May hear your body croke.

The arrival of this day of festivity used to to be anticipated by the people with such eagerness, that Shakespeare speaks of them as being unable to go to sleep on May-eve. One "evil May-day," however, occurred, and never again did May morn come to the citizens of London, wreathed in its usual smiles. In consequence of an insurrection, which we shall have occasion to relate in speaking of the encouragement given to foreign settlers, that broke out in London, on May-eve, 1517, the sports of May-day were long suspended; nor were they ever after, more than very partially resumed. The "great shaft of Cornhill" was not once erected after that event; and thirty-two years later, was broken in pieces, at the instigation of a fanatic priest, who insisted, that the inhabitants had made an idol of it, by sainting it along with the church.

The game in universal use within doors, for many centuries, was that most seductive of all games of hazard—dice ; nor is it possible, that it could have been indulged in to the extent we find it was, without being attended with all the most ruinous consequences of gaming. When Henry Picard had the honour of feasting four kings at his house, in Cheapside, in the year 1363, we are told, that after these illustrious guests were gone, “ he kept his hall for all comers that were willing to play at dice and hazard ;” and that, “ in like manner, the Lady Margaret, his wife, kept her chamber to *the same intent*.” During the Christmas holidays of 1377, a party of the citizens, to the amount of one hundred and thirty, went a mumming, as it was called, (in masks, representing kings, emperors, &c.) to Kennington, in order to pay their respects to Richard, the son of the Black Prince, who was residing there with his mother. After the mummers were introduced to the young prince, they put a pair of dice on the table, and invited him to try his luck with them. The first stake they proposed, was a bowl of gold ; the second, a cup of gold ; the last, a gold ring ; and it was so managed, that the prince won every throw. The prince’s mother, his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, and many other noblemen who were present, were also successively invited to take the chance of the die, for a gold ring ; and as certainly as they tried they won. It must be allowed, that there was an air of gallantry in all this ; but what can be said for the moral sentiments of an age, when false dice could be made the passports to princely favour ? The vice of gaming did not confine itself to private society ; for we find, that as early as the beginning of

the sixteenth century there were public gaming houses in the city, to which habitual gamblers resorted in great numbers. They were situated chiefly about the Exchange, in the parish of St. Bennet Finke. In 1551, an information was laid against one of these houses in the Exchequer, and five of the parties concerned in it fined forty shillings each. James the First seems to have thought that this mode of amusement was as commendable as any other, for he granted a privilege to his groom porter, Clement Cottrel, to licence, within the limits of London and Westminster, and two miles thereof, no less than forty taverns, "for the honest and reasonable recreation of good and civil people, who for their quality and ability may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nine-holes, or any other game hereafter to be invented."

HONOURS CONFERRED ON LONDON CITIZENS.

It is not every wealthy person that is satisfied, like the President Jeannin, with being the son of his own merit, or that with Lord Thurlow would sooner acknowledge his ancestor in a drayman than a courtier.

It must be from this weakness of mind, that although England is more indebted to commerce for her greatness than any other nation in the world, it is thought, by too many, a mark of good breeding, to undervalue and sneer at the name of merchant, as if it were derogatory to rank or dignity. The circum-

stance is the more singular, as a considerable number of British peers, and those too of the highest rank, are immediately descended from London merchants, and the foundation of the fortunes of many others has been laid in commerce; so much so indeed, that a great portion of the British peerage is related, either by descent or intermarriage, to the citizens of London. This is the case with at least four English dukes, as many marquesses, and a whole host of earls, viscounts, and barons.

Even as early as the reign of Athelstan, who resided in the heart of London, at a place which still retains his name (for from Athelstan, or Adlestan, the name of Addle-street, called in an ancient record *King Addle-street*, is derived), a merchant, who had made three foreign voyages on his own account, became entitled to the quality and privileges of a thane, or nobleman; and we find accordingly, that in the wittenagemot, which sanctioned Harold's usurpation of the throne, the *seamen* or *merchants* of London are enumerated among the thanes who were present.

When the Normans displanted the Saxons in the dominion of England, they substituted the appellation of *Baron* for that of *Thane*; but a baron, with them, meant any freeman born of free parentage, and of course the citizens of London were not the only barons of the Norman line, for there were the barons of the Cinque Ports, the barons of Warwick, &c. The title of baron as applicable to commoners is now confined, and in parliamentary phrase merely, to the representatives of London and of the Cinque Ports. It has been selected, however, as the distinguishing ap-

pellation of a large and eminent branch of the British peerage ; and it is to be hoped, that they will never forget that the style and title on which they justly pride themselves, was once a style and title common to every liveryman of London. Although the citizens of London have thus, and for all good purposes happily, lost the claim to nobility, which in early times was the certain reward of successful commerce ; yet the peerage as well as baronetage of England exhibits numerous proofs of the voluntary respect paid to commerce by British sovereigns, in elevating those, who pursued it, to the highest titles of the state.

The noble house of Osborne, which has attained the first rank of a subject, does not disdain to acknowledge, that the founder of the family, Edward Osborne, was an apprentice to Sir William Hewet, a merchant, who lived on London-bridge, and who was lord mayor in 1559 ; and that he owed his elevation to his humanity and his personal courage. Sir William had an only daughter, Anne, who, when a child, was, by the carelessness of the nurse, dropped from one of the windows of his house into the Thames. The apprentice, Edward Osborne, no sooner knew of the accident, than he fearlessly precipitated himself from the bridge into the river, and seizing hold of the child, triumphantly swam with her to the shore. When the child grew up to womanhood, as her father was rich, she had many suitors, among whom was the Earl of Shrewsbury ; but the father refused them all, saying, that as Osborne had saved her, he should have her. They were married, and their descendant is the present Duke of Leeds, at whose house a portrait of Sir William Hewet in his robes, as lord

mayor, is prized much higher than a Corregio or a Titian.

The Marquis of Cornwallis is lineally descended from Thomas Cornwalleys, merchant, who was sheriff of London in 1378.

The noble house of Wentworth may justly boast of its descent from a London citizen, whose virtue even subdued the tyranny of Henry VIII. and awed him into respect. Sir W. Fitzwilliam was alderman of London and sheriff in 1506. He was, at one time, a retainer in the service of Cardinal Wolsey; and when that haughty man had incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, he had the courage and the virtue to befriend him. Henry, when informed of it, had the generosity to pardon him, and the honesty to acknowledge that he had few such servants as Mr. Fitzwilliam, whom he immediately knighted. This Sir William, with that spirit of beneficence which has descended to his posterity, built the greater part of the present church of St. Andrew Undershaft, and bequeathed a considerable portion of his property to charitable purposes. One bequest, though small, is remarkable, as it shows how far he had anticipated the justice of succeeding ages. He left his mansion in St. Thomas-the-Apostle to his widow, on condition that she should pay 4*l.* annually for the release of poor prisoners, within the city of London, who were acquitted, but kept in confinement for their fees.

The Earl of Coventry is descended from John Coventry, mercer, of London, and lord mayor in 1425. This worthy citizen was one of the executors of "Richard Whittington, thrice lord mayor of London."

Laurence des Bouveries, fleeing from the into-

lerance of his father, took refuge in the house of a silk manufacturer, at Frankfort on the Maine, who was also under a sort of religious proscription. He became his clerk and overseer; and, marrying his master's niece, inherited his property, with which he came over to England, in the reign of Elizabeth, and laid the foundation of the noble house of Radnor.

The Earl of Essex need seek no truer nobility than that of his ancestor, Sir William Capel, who was lord mayor of London in 1503, and was one of the victims of those infamous favourites Empson and Dudley, who once levied a fine on him of 1600*l.* for a false charge of not punishing some persons brought before him for coining. They next fined him in a sum of 2000*l.* for refusing to pay which, he was committed to the Tower; nor was he released until the death of the monarch, and the execution of Empson and Dudley had expiated their crimes.

The ancestor of the Earl of Dartmouth, Thomas Legge or Legget, a skinner, was twice lord mayor, in 1347 and 1354, and member for the city of London. He lent the king, Edward III., no less a sum than 300*l.* towards carrying on the French war; which was more than any citizen advanced, excepting the lord mayor and Simon de Frauncis, who each advanced 800*l.*

Sir William Craven, merchant taylor, who was lord mayor of London in 1610, and who married the daughter of a citizen, was the ancestor of the present Earl Craven; and the Earl of Warwick is lineally descended from William Greville, a citizen of London, and the "flower of the woolstaplers."

Thomas Bennett, mercer, who was sheriff of Lon-

don in 1594, and lord mayor in 1603, laid the foundation of the fortunes of the Earls of Tankerville, who are lineally descended from him.

The ancestor of the Earls of Pomfret was Richard Fermour, a much persecuted citizen, who, having amassed a splendid fortune as a merchant at Calais, became, on his return to London, an object for the extortion and rapacity of the creatures of Henry the Eighth. For relieving a poor priest, of the name of Nicholas Haynes, who had been his confessor when in prison, with eight pence and a couple of shirts, he was committed to the Marshalsea prison, tried and attainted, and his whole property forfeited. This merchant had formerly in his service Will. Somers, the royal jester, who appears to have had something more valuable in his composition than mere drollery. When Somers, who had become a favourite of the king, heard of the cruelty towards his old master, he took advantage of the king's melancholy towards the close of his life, to remind him of the circumstance. The king, conscience-stricken, ordered the restitution of his estate; but he died before this act of atonement was complete; and it was not until the 4th of Edward VI. that Mr. Fermour had even the partial restoration of his property.

The Earl of Darnley owes the first elevation of his family to John Bligh, a London citizen, who was employed as agent to the speculators in the Irish estates, forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, and who became an adventurer himself with 600*l*.

John Cowper, an alderman of Bridge-ward, and sheriff in 1551, was the ancestor of Earl Cowper;

and the Earl of Romney is descended from Thomas Marsham, alderman of London, who died in 1624.

Lord Dacre's ancestor, Sir Robert Dacre, was banker to Charles I. and though he lost 80,000*l.* by that monarch, left a princely fortune to his descendants.

Lord Dormer is descended from Sir Michael Dormer, sheriff of London in 1529, and lord mayor in 1541.

Viscount Dudley and Ward's ancestor was William Ward, a wealthy goldsmith in London, who was jeweller to Henrietta Maria, the consort of Charles the First.

Sir Rowland Hill, who was lord mayor in the reign of Edward VI. was ancestor of Lord Berwick, Lord Hill, and "all the Hills in Shropshire."

Were we to extend our notice to more recent times, we should find that our Granthams, Caringtons, and many other titles not a century old, owe their origin entirely to successful commerce.

The kings of England have shewn their respect for the citizens of London in other modes, equally unequivocal. There are few of the principal companies, who have not numbered on their roll many individuals of the royal line, who have owned themselves proud to add this to their other distinctions, and many of noble blood, who were ambitious of being free of the same craft with their sovereigns. The Merchant Taylors boast of, at least, eight kings, eighteen princes and dukes, and one archbishop; besides a long list of earls, viscounts, and barons. The Skinners have had, of their fraternity, six kings and five queens; the Grocers, five kings, and several princes.

James the First was a member of both the merchant taylors and clothworkers' companies. When made free of the latter, he had been dining with one of its body, Sir John Watts, who had the honour of filling the civic chair in 1607. As he was about to depart, Sir John, in the freedom which conviviality inspires, besought his majesty to go and be made free of the clothworkers; James assented, and the Lord Mayor accordingly conducted him to the company's hall, in Mincing Lane. His majesty was received by the master, wardens, and assistants, to whom he addressed himself in the most gracious manner. He asked "who was the master of the company?" The Lord Mayor presented "Sir William Stone." "Sir William," said the king, "wilt thou make me free of the clothworkers?" "Yes," replied the master, "and think myself a happy man that I live to see the day." "Give me thy hand then," said James, "and now I am a clothworker." His majesty then called for bread and wine, which being presented to him by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Cumberland, freemen of the company, he rose up and said, "Now I drink unto all my good brethren, the clothworkers. And I pray God to bless them all, and all good Clothworkers. And for proof of our special favour to the fraternity, I do here give unto this company, two brace of bucks yearly, for ever, against the time of the election of the master and wardens."

ENCOURAGEMENT TO FOREIGN SETTLERS.

To be jealous of strangers is one of those prejudices

common to the vulgar of all ages and countries. The citizens of London have not only shared of it largely, but, having greater privileges than most citizens, they seem to have been proportionably more zealous to keep to themselves all the benefits that could be derived from them. Had it in this instance depended on the popular voice, many centuries must have elapsed before a single foreigner would have been permitted to settle in the British metropolis; nor would the popular voice have been overruled, could a frequent recourse to acts of violence have given omnipotence to its dictates. Happily for the citizens of London, and for the country at large, the English government has been on this point almost uniformly and resolutely opposed to the vulgar opinion; for it is now matter of history, that to the early and continued encouragement, which our Edwards and Elizabeths, our Cranmers and Burleighs, have given to the ingenious and oppressed of all countries to take shelter under the English sceptre, we are indebted for the introduction of by far the greater portion of those manufactures, and for much of that foreign trade, which now constitute the chief sources of our national prosperity.

The earliest foreign company settled in London, of which we have any trace, were "the Emperor's Men," a body of German merchants, who settled here in the time of Canute. They paid annually to the king, for his protection, two pieces of grey cloth, and one of brown; ten pounds of pepper; five pair of gloves; and two casks of wine; being all specimens of the sort of commodities which they imported into this country.

For a long time no foreign merchant was permitted

to bring the goods he imported on shore, but was obliged to expose them for sale on board the ships in which they arrived. In the reign of Henry III. however, the corporation being in want of money to assist them in bringing water into the city, agreed with the foreign merchants, chiefly Germans and Flemings, that for the sum of 100*l.* paid down, and forty marks yearly ever after, they should have the privilege of landing, housing, and vending their commodities.

The first of our monarchs, who made a public proclamation of protection to all foreigners, was Edward the First. The law which he passed in their favour is now, to the stranger in England, what Magna Charta is to the native citizen. It ordained that the merchants of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, "and of all other foreign parts, might safely come with their merchandize into the king's cities, towns, and ports, and sell the same;" that they might "also carry beyond sea the goods they might want in England, paying the usual customs;" that speedy justice should be done to all foreign merchants; and the more certainly to ensure this, that on any trial between them and Englishmen, the jury should consist of one-half foreigners, and the other half natives. In return for these important privileges, and in order to give a preferable encouragement to native shipping, Edward merely exacted a small additional duty on all imports and exports when made by foreigners.

Edward the Third not only confirmed this charter of privileges, but having, in the course of his campaigns in Flanders, observed how much that country was enriched by its manufactures of cloth, he prevailed with great numbers of Flemish cloth-workers,

to come over and settle in England. Here they pursued their art with so much success, and induced so many of the natives to follow it, that in a few years there were looms in the country, equal to the manufacture of the whole wool it could produce. Edward, therefore, passed a law, interdicting, in future; the exportation of English wool; and, for the still farther encouragement of native industry, he prohibited the importation of all woollen cloths from abroad. We see here a striking instance of the good which a wise prince may confer on his country. The same monarch, who had the sagacity to perceive all the advantages which might be derived from the skill of the stranger, had also the proud satisfaction of seeing, through his encouragement and protection, a manufacture introduced and established, which has since become the STAPLE of England.

So beneficial a present to a people must, for a long time, have put to shame every prejudice they might be disposed to entertain against the admission of foreigners among them. But when the race of the first Flemish adventurers was lost through intermixture with the native population, and when the woollen manufacturers became, as it were, identified with the English name, old obligations were forgotten, and the natural antipathy to strangers revived. It obtained, however, no countenance from the laws, until an usurper had seated himself on the throne, who cared not what concessions he made to the arbitrary views of others, in order to gain their support to his own. The citizens of London, cajoled by Buckingham and misled by a servile chief-magistrate, were the first to cry "God save King Richard!" and

Richard in return conferred upon them, among other favours, a statute, which, under the pretence of regulating, was meant, in reality, to put an end to all foreign rivalry. The act recites, that foreigners from various parts, " Venetians, Apulians, Sicilians, Lucaners, Cataloyns" (Catalonians), and others, " did in great numbers inhabit and keep house, as well in London as in other cities and burghs within the realm, and took warehouses and cellars to put therein their merchandizes and wares." It then enumerates what are called " their evil doings," the chief of which appear to have been, that they generally kept their goods till they could sell them to the best advantage; sold them to whoever would buy (" to all manner of people") in small as well as large quantities; and did not make their returns to the continent in British produce, but in specie. In order to remedy these fancied evils, Richard ordained, that in future all foreign merchants should sell and barter their goods in gross only, and not by retail; and that they should employ the proceeds in the ports where the goods first arrived, in purchasing commodities and merchandize of the realm, under pain of confiscation.

Owing probably to the difficulty of enforcing such inquisitorial regulations, and, no doubt, also to the downfall of their despotic author, they appear to have speedily fallen into neglect. Henry the Seventh contented himself with passing some enactments (1 and 2 Henry VII. c. 2 and 14) to prevent any evasion of the additional duties which the great charter of Edward I. imposed on the commercial transactions of foreigners; and when in 1493 the populace, angry at the industrious rivalry of certain merchants

of the Hanse Towns, rose tumultuously, and plundered their warehouses in Thames-street, he showed a just sense of the enormity of the offence, by causing the ringleaders to be prosecuted with severity, and several of them to atone for it with their lives.

The citizens, however, looking on these men rather as martyrs to a common cause, than as criminals, derived no instruction from their exemplary fate. It was regarded, on the contrary, as a cruel aggravation of the evils which they suffered from the settlement of foreigners among them; nor did it deter them, a few years afterwards, from again giving vent to their animosity, by one of the most serious tumults which stain the city's annals. The prime mover in the disturbance, on this occasion, was a man of the better class of citizens, of the name of John Lincolne. A short time before Easter week, 1517, he waited upon Dr. Bell, who was engaged to preach one of the Easter sermons at the Spittal church, and laying before him a written statement of the grievances which the lieges were supposed to suffer from the competition of foreign interlopers, prevailed with the doctor to give his promise, that he would read it from the pulpit. Bell, who appears to have entered, with all the enthusiasm of a zealot, into the cause, was not satisfied with merely reading the tirade of his friend, but followed it up with some exhortatory words of his own, which pointed, in terms not to be misunderstood, to the sort of remedy which he wished the people to apply to the evil. "The heavens," said this crafty expounder, "belong to the Lord of Heaven, but the earth he hath given to the children of men. England is the spot which he has given to

Englishmen, and, as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to defend their soil from the intrusion of aliens. Yea, even as the swallow repelleth the usurper from her ancient abode, should they drive out those who would divide with them the inheritance of their fathers." The people, as may naturally be supposed, greedily imbibed lessons so entirely according with their own prejudices on the subject. Few were so timid as not to declare openly their opinion, that the removal of the strangers would be a righteous thing in the sight of heaven ; and it was not long before some were emboldened, by the prevalence of such sentiments, to hazard the experiment. On the 28th of April, a number of young braggarts began by parading the streets, insulting every foreigner they met ; some they buffeted severely, and others they threw into the kennel. It seemed to be their object to stir up a general commotion for the clearance of the city from aliens ; but before they had gained any considerable accession to their numbers, they were dispersed by the lord-mayor, with the aid of the civil force at his command, and several of the most forward of them committed to prison. The people seemed generally to view the failure of this attempt with regret, and mingled with their murmurs hints and threatenings, that many days would not elapse before another attempt would be made, the success of which would leave popular vengeance nothing to desire. It is by no means clear, that any plot for this purpose had actually been formed ; and rumour, at least, told a most improbable tale, when it everywhere gave forth, that the design, which the citizens had in contemplation, was to make

a general massacre of the foreigners in London, on the eve of next May-day, an anniversary hitherto devoted to festivity and joy. The story found its way to the ears of the king's council, and the president, Cardinal Wolsey, on the last day of April, sent for the lord-mayor to advise with him on the subject. The mayor seemed to discredit the rumour, but assured the cardinal, that he was well prepared to repress any attempt which might be made to disturb the peace of the city. On his lordship's return from the palace, he called the court of aldermen together, who resolved, by a considerable majority, that the only precautionary measure necessary was, to issue an order that no man should leave his home after nine o'clock that evening, till after nine o'clock on the following morning. The recorder was sent to communicate this resolution to the king's council, and returned with their entire approval of the measure.

So much time had, however, been wasted in these preliminary deliberations, that the hour had already arrived for every man to be at home, before the order for that purpose began to be proclaimed throughout the city. The aldermen had just separated, and were proceeding to their respective wards to see it enforced, when one of them, Sir John Munday, as he was passing along Cheapside, saw a number of lads playing at bucklers together, and with more zeal than discretion commanded them instantly to disperse. One of them, in ignorance, as they probably all were, of the order that had been issued, observed to his worship, that they were doing no harm, and that he knew not what right he had to interfere. The alderman, displeased at this impeachment of his

authority, seized the speaker, in order to drag him to the Compter, but the young men immediately interposed to save their companion, and by loud calls of " 'Prentices ! 'prentices ! clubs ! clubs !" brought so many to their assistance, that the alderman was forced to quit his grasp, and to consult his safety by flight. The crowd which this accidental brawl had collected, was quickly increased by great numbers, especially of the lower classes, who, full of the rumours of the day, imagined, that the disturbance abroad could be nothing else than the commencement of the expected attack on the foreigners, and were all, more or less, eager to witness or participate in the affray. No previous concert was necessary to enable a few wicked agitators, like Lincolne and Bell, to urge on a mob thus brought together under one common impression, to do all that fear had prophesied of them. The cry of " Down with the foreigners !" was no sooner raised, than it was echoed from a thousand tongues. The infuriated rabble immediately rushed towards St. Martin's-le-Grand, and other quarters of the city, inhabited by foreigners : in vain, the mayor and sheriffs strove to oppose their progress ; and still more vainly did the lieutenant of the Tower cannonade the city, with balls which threatened destruction equally to friend and foe. Happily for humanity, the foreigners, taking warning from the rumours which were afloat, had all either fled, or concealed themselves in places of safety, and the pillage of their deserted houses was all that remained to glut the vengeance of their savage pursuers. For many hours the work of devastation continued ; nor until the rise of the sun reminded the rioters " to do observance to a morn of May," did

they begin to disperse to their homes. The magistrates, who were anxiously awaiting this scattering of the multitude, now exerted themselves with a vigour and activity ill contrasted with their previous inefficiency. In every street and alley some guilty rioter found the avenue to his home obstructed by the officers of justice ; and in one short hour, Newgate and the Compter were filled with prisoners.

Intelligence of the riot had, in the course of the night, been sent off to the king, who was then at Richmond ; and, by command of his majesty, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey, at the head of such forces as they could muster on the instant, hastened to London. At five o'clock in the morning, they entered the city ; but by this time the streets had been cleared, and order restored.

A commission of oyer and terminer was on the same day directed by his majesty to the Duke of Norfolk and other lords, for the trial of the prisoners. On the 2d of May, two hundred and eighty persons were capitally arraigned at Guildhall, and having all pleaded not guilty, were allowed one day to prepare for trial. On the morning of the 4th, the Duke of Norfolk, in order to guard against any interference with the proceeding on the part of the populace, repaired to Guildhall, at the head of a body of 1300 armed men. The persons first put on their trial were Lincolne, the chief instigator of the disturbance, two brothers of the name of Betts, and ten others, noted for the active part they had taken. The whole of these thirteen were found guilty, and condemned to die. The sentence was ordered to be put in execution on the 7th, and the trial of the other prisoners

was, in the mean time, suspended. On the 7th, the unfortunate men were drawn on hurdles to Cheapside, and the ringleader, Lincolne, was executed; but, as the others were with the ropes about their necks, expecting every moment the same ignominious fate, the welcome tidings of a respite arrived. The criminals were conducted back to prison, and immediately after the armed force, which had been quartered on the city, was removed.

Encouraged by these proofs of a lenient feeling on the part of the king, the lord-mayor, recorder, and aldermen, presented themselves at the palace, as suppliants for an audience of his majesty. After being kept a long time in waiting, they were, at length, admitted; and, falling on their knees, the recorder besought the king to forgive them for the disastrous events of May-day, and to have compassion on the many misguided persons who still awaited his decision on their fate. The disturbance, he said, had originated with "a small number of light persons," and was deeply deplored by the citizens at large. "Why then," exclaimed Henry passionately, "did you not fight with this small number?" The deputation remained silent, and the king proceeded to reprimand them in severe terms for the negligence they had shown on the occasion,—for winking, as he averred, at the outrage on the poor foreigners. Not a word of kindness would he vouchsafe them, but, turning hastily away, left them, overwhelmed with reproaches, and still on their knees.

Henry, though but too justly offended, seems to have had little desire to judge the citizens in wrath. A few days after, he caused it to be inti-

mated to them, that he would hold a court at Westminster Hall, on the 13th, when it was probable a second solicitation might be attended with happier results. The citizens, seizing eagerly on the hope which now presented itself, resolved, that nothing should be wanting on their part, which could give to the application an appearance of the deepest penitence and submission. Never has the City of London presented a spectacle of greater humiliation. The lord-mayor, the recorder, the sheriffs, the aldermen, the common-council, and other principal citizens, all went clothed in deep mourning ; they were followed by the prisoners, stripped to their shirts, bound with cords, and with halters round their necks. On entering Westminster Hall, at the upper end of which Henry was seated in great pomp, surrounded by his courtiers, the procession fell on their knees, and the recorder, on the part of the city, again implored his majesty's clemency. Henry turned to the cardinal, as if inviting his opinion on their request. Wolsey protested, that they deserved no favour in his majesty's sight ; he expatiated on the heinousness of their offence, the supineness of the magistrates, the disgrace which such outrages on foreigners was calculated to bring on his majesty's government ; and concluded by declaring, that the prisoners all richly merited death. The dismayed citizens supplicated aloud for " Mercy !" the noblemen around the throne interceded ; and Henry was, at last, graciously pleased to pronounce a general pardon. A shout of gratitude burst from the prisoners ; they flung their halters to the roof of the hall ; and retired, tumultuously rejoicing, from the royal presence.

The memory of these events caused the 1st of May, 1517, to be ever after called the *Evil May-day*; and led for a long time to the suspension of the usual May-day pastimes. It does not appear, however, that, memorable as the lesson was which the citizens received on this occasion, it tended, in any material degree, to lessen the prejudices which they entertained against foreigners. They seem to have been thankful for their escape from punishment, yet not convinced of the guilt that incurred it. In a very few years after, we meet with acts of the corporation, which evince as much hostility as ever to strangers. In 1526, the common-council, assuming an authority which did not belong to them, prohibited all foreigners from importing woad into the city, and all citizens from presuming "to buy, sell, or maintain any kind of mercantile intercourse with foreigners dealing in woad." And in 1527, they farther declared, that it should be a reason for disfranchisement, "if any freeman or freewoman of this city, hereafter colour (pass) any foreign goods, or from henceforth buy or sell any cloths, silks, wines, oils, or any other goods or merchandize, whatsoever they be, the property of foreigners, and whether he take any thing or things for his or their wages, or labour, or not."

The exclusive spirit which these acts betrayed was again, however, checked by the interference of government. In the reign of Edward VI. the Protector Somerset, and Archbishop Cranmer, both exerted themselves most strenuously in favour of a more liberal policy. They procured an act of parliament, which not only authorized strangers to follow

their occupations in the cities and boroughs of England, but declared, that they should be also entitled to the free exercise of their religion. In consequence of this encouragement, great numbers of foreign protestants, persecuted at home on account of their faith, sought refuge in England; and were the means of introducing many profitable woollen, silk, and other manufactures, particularly at London, Norwich, Colchester, Canterbury, &c.

It is a curious fact, that great as was the jealousy which the citizens of London continued to entertain of foreigners, they suffered them, without the least hindrance or regret, to engross as much as they pleased of the shipping business of London. Grown rich and lazy by means of their corporate privileges, they seem to have desired nothing more than to be left to the quiet enjoyment of them; they were without enterprize, without invention; they seem not to have had a hope of profit beyond their own walls. One Thomas Barnaby, a merchant of some note, in a letter written about this period to Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh) thus expresses himself: "I think there is never a city in Christendom, having the occupying that this city hath, that is so slenderly provided of ships, having the sea coming to it as this hath. I have heard of late much complaining for English ships to lade goods into Spain and other places, and none were to be had. I saw thirty-seven hoys, laden with wood and timber, go at one tide out of Rye, and never an English mariner among them." The commerce of the country was, in fact, almost entirely carried on by foreigners, belonging chiefly to the Hanse Towns. Of fifty thousand pieces of Eng-

lish cloth, which were now annually sent to the continent, scarcely a fifth part were exported by English merchants in English bottoms. The indifference which the citizens of London manifested on this point was the more reprehensible, that their companies had all large revenues, and did nothing with them, says Barnaby, "but making great feasts every month or six weeks at their halls, and causing victuals to be dear." This honest monitor thought truly, that their wealth might be "turned to a more honourable use;" and he therefore proposed, that every company should provide and employ, at least, one ship, laden with the commodities in which it dealt. "It would," says he, "be a great maintaining to the king's subjects, for every craft to have a ship to carry their merchandizes to and fro, to the great advancement of the king's honour, and to their own commodities."—He adds another prospect of advantage, which does great credit to his sagacity; for, as yet, nothing was known of that system of insurance, which is the boast of modern commerce. "And if chance should fall (which God forbid), that a ship should be lost, the halls might easily bear the smarts thereof." This project of Barnaby's failed of success; but his representations had the effect of rousing the English government, for the first time, to a proper sense of the vast importance of having shipping of our own, to carry on our own commerce. The Earl of Warwick, who then presided over the administration of affairs, resolved upon a general measure for the encouragement of English navigation, which, though it savoured of the despotic vigour of his government, was fraught with the most beneficial consequences to England.

The additional duty on all imports and exports made by foreigners was, at once, raised to twenty per cent. The Hanse Towns remonstrated warmly against an impost, which they, with truth, represented to be nearly prohibitory of all foreign shipping; but Warwick, satisfied to find that their fears so far confirmed the wisdom of his conduct, persisted in the bold experiment. England was not now, as in the early days of Edward the First, a country importing from the continent most of the manufactures which it consumed; and a duty which would have been absurd in principle, as long as this state of things lasted, ceased to be so, when its object was to rouse Englishmen to be themselves the bearers to all parts of the world of the products of their own industry. The consequences of it were speedy and decisive. A bounty of twenty per cent. on English shipping (for such, in fact, was the operation of the law) soon filled the ports of England with native traders; a nursery for English mariners was established; and out of it there arose, ere many years elapsed, that naval power, but for which we might, once more, have been destined to receive from a foreign *armada* the fate of a conquered people.

The "red annals" of Mary's reign cannot be expected to contain much in favour of the persecuted subjects of other countries; yet it was a period which added considerably to the foreign portion of the population of London. It was the heart-breaking sorrow of this bigot queen, that while she swayed the sceptre, Calais and other towns of France, which the valour of Edward the Third had added to English dominion, and the valour or good fortune of his successors had pre-

served, were for ever lost to this country. Many of the inhabitants of these places, particularly those of English extraction, afraid of the consequences of this change of masters, retired to England, never to return. Those of *Hammes* and *Guisnes* settled in a part of that suburb of London, called St. Catherine's, which has hence, by a strange corruption, been called *Hangman's Gains*.

During the tolerant reign of Elizabeth, the number of foreigners in London increased more rapidly than at any preceding period. In 1566, they were reported to amount to 2730 ; in 1580, to 4047 ; and in 1593, to 4300. The majority of them were Dutch and French ; and among those least in number were the Scots, who, in 1566, only mustered forty. The proportion of denizens, or naturalized foreigners, was, in 1566, somewhat more than one fifth ; in 1593, equal to one fourth.

So unwonted an influx of strangers revived, in the minds of the citizens, all their old prejudices against them, and was again, as in the days of Richard, made a pretext for loud complaints, that the foreigners did not employ the money they received for their imports in the purchase of native commodities, but remitted it to their respective countries in specie, or by bills of exchange ; and so very plausible did this objection seem, at first, to the sage Burleigh, that, in 1573, he actually issued an order " to compel the employment of all money growing by wares brought into the realm by strangers, upon wares of the realm to be carried outwards," and that " within six months." The foreign merchants, however, exerted themselves so successfully in demonstrating to the

treasurer the hardship and impolicy of this regulation, that it was allowed to remain a dead letter. The falseness of the pretext, which gave occasion to it, was strikingly demonstrated by one passage of their statement. "Instead," said they, "of there being any lack of employment out of the realm for English commodities, the demand is so great now, that the companies of the Merchant Adventurers, the Spanish merchants, the Muscovian merchants, and the Eastland merchants, are fain to stint themselves, what every merchant should ship out of the realm, according to the antienty of continuance, place, and freedom, *every body being ready to carry out more than could be bought.*"

When this mode of annoyance had failed, another, equally venerable for its antiquity, was had recourse to. In 1586, the apprentices, in the hope, no doubt, of doing an acceptable service to their masters, concerted the plan of a general attack on the foreigners; and but for the vigilance and firmness of Elizabeth and her council, the city might have had another *Evil May-day* to add to its annals. Several of the conspirators were arrested and punished.

It was next discovered, that the queen's revenue was seriously injured by the practices of foreigners; and the comptroller of the customs, Mr. Thomas Smith, who was directed by her majesty to report on the correctness of this statement, gave it his most unqualified sanction. The revenue did, indeed, suffer greatly; but in a way which the reader will scarcely expect to see converted into a matter of grave complaint. These evil-doing foreigners, it seems, had introduced into England so many manufactures,

which it was previously obliged to import from abroad, that there was a most alarming falling off in the quantity of foreign goods imported, and of course in the customs derived from them! But let the report of the comptroller speak for itself; it is altogether a very singular specimen of erroneous views of national welfare. "He had sought out," he says, "as near as he could, the certainty of the queen's losses, and hinderance in her customs inwards, by the late increase of made wares here, *which were accustomed to be brought into this realm*, and answered her highnesse's custom and subsidy for the same, at least, to the value of 10,000*l.* yearly; which did arise in these commodities following, viz. striped canvas, striped sackcloth, tuft and plain mocadoes, Norwich and Sandwich grooms, serges, sayes, draperies and tapestries, and all kinds of fringes and laces of gold, silver, and of crewel; besides bays and frizadoes. *Of which commodities in time past was none at all, or very few, made here.* Furthermore, that he had learned there was a great number of baize made in England, at Sandwich, Norwich, Colchester, and Thetford; whereof many were spent there, *and many were sent for to Portugal, Spain, and the Low Countries.* That he had also learned, that the number of baize, making there, did much hinder and decay the making of Welsh, Cheshire, and Manchester cottons, and of other coarse cloth made in the north parts, as northern cottons, cardinal whites, northern streittes, northern checks, and peni-stones; and also of pindewhites and plaines, made in the west country. That the decay of the making of these commodities did not only hinder the queen's custom outwards, but also a great number of the

poor, which were wont to be set on work by the same. For he had learned, that the strangers set few English on work. And lastly, that the making of baize, frizadoes, and such like here, did much raise the price of wools and felts in this realm, whereby her majesty was much hindered in her customs outward of the staple."

It would seem, that Mr. Smith, the author of this report, had, on better inquiry, become greatly enlightened on the points of which it treats: for it is recorded of the same person, that he afterwards represented to Lord Burleigh, that "though there was some loss, by these manufactures, to the queen in her customs inwards, yet it was recompensed by her customs outward; and also profitable to the commonwealth, since such numbers of the commodities could not be wrought in the realm by strangers only, but that they must set on work many poor people, natives of this realm. And whereas it was thought, that the making of these would prove the decay of cloths and kersies, there were as many made then, as had been in times past, and as much worn within the realm as had been before time; and that it appeared by the custom-books, there were as many carried out of the realm as before." These second thoughts of the comptroller were those which Lord Burleigh liked best, and by which he had the wisdom to act.

Many other manufactures, besides those mentioned in Mr. Smith's report, were, about this time, established in London by foreigners. Jasper Andries and Jacob Jansen, two potters and Dutch tilers of Antwerp, introduced the making of gallipots. James Verselyn, a Venetian, erected the first glass-house known in London,

and carried on such a trade, that it was made a subject of complaint against him, that he consumed four hundred thousand billets of wood every year. Cornelius Bassire and Company were our first refiners of sugar, and before twenty years elapsed, put an end to the profits which the sugar-bakers of Antwerp used to draw from us. Some silk throwers, from Bruges, established the art of throwing raw silk, which, in a few years, gave employment to thousands of poor people. Nor was it till these days of good Queen Bess, that the ladies of England were supplied with pins of English manufacture; for previously it cost their husbands not less than 60,000*l.* a year to import them from abroad.

Stubborn as all these facts were, they could not subdue the vulgar prejudice. In 1592, the citizens of London applied to parliament, to enact, that foreigners should be, at least, restrained from the retail of all wares, whether manufactured by themselves, or others; and their bill had the support of one, whose name we did not expect to have to rank on the side of monopoly and all uncharitableness—we mean, Sir Walter Raleigh. In an energetic speech which he delivered on the occasion, he thus expressed his views of the subject. “It is pretended,” said he, “that it is against charity, against honour, against profit, to expel these foreigners. In my opinion, it is no manner of charity to relieve them; for first, such as fly hither have forsaken their own king; our religion is no pretext for them, for we have no Dutchmen here, but such as come from those places where the gospel is preached. As for honour, it is honour to use strangers as we are used by them. But it is a

lightness in a commonwealth, yea, a baseness in a nation, to give a nation a liberty which we cannot receive again. In Antwerp, where our intercourse was most, we were never suffered to have a taylor, or a shoemaker, to dwell there. Nay, at Milan, where there are three hundred pound Englishmen, they cannot have so much as a barber among them. And then, as for profit, they are all of the house of Almaine, who pay nothing, yet eat our profits, and supplant our own people. I see, therefore, no reason why so much respect should be paid to them."

Sir Robert Cecil made an able answer to Raleigh, and enlarged, with prophetic vision, on the honour which England must derive from being accounted the "Refuge of distressed nations." Sir John Wolley, Latin secretary to the queen, addressed himself more immediately to the consideration of the profits derived from the encouragement of foreigners. Such a restraint, he emphatically remarked, "as that proposed, would be to the injury of London itself, whose riches and renown came by the entertaining of strangers, and giving liberty unto them. Antwerp and Venice would never have been so rich and famous; they would never have gained all the intercourse of the world, but for the friendship which they cultivated with foreigners. If London would become great as they, she must follow their example."

The influence of vulgar opinion, however, prevailed even within the walls of the senate; and the bill was passed in the commons by a considerable majority.

Fortunately, a dissolution of parliament prevented it from being carried farther; and no attempt has ever since been made to rescind that protection and

encouragement, which the existing laws of England accord to strangers. The popular sentiment, too, has long since changed on the subject. The citizens of London have, as well as others, discovered, that a surer way than either rioting or legislating, to prevent foreigners from gaining an advantage over them, is to rival them in industry and perseverance. All the attempts which were made to fetter the foreigner with restrictions, were, in fact, just so many solicitations for a bounty on native indolence. Forced, at length, to emulate those whom they could not put down, the citizens entered on a career of industry, the profits of which soon removed all occasion for envying the prosperity of others. Detestation gave way to respect; jealousy to friendship. The citizens of London, once so distinguished for their hostility to aliens, are now renowned, throughout the world, for their generous sympathy to the refugees of all nations.

JEWS.

A distinct line of separation appears to have prevailed of old between the Jew and foreigner. Both were opposed and persecuted by the populace; but while there were always some persons sufficiently enlightened to befriend and protect the Christian stranger; many were the ages that elapsed before any one, either high or low, thought it the least disgrace to deny the rights of humanity to the poor Jew. The foreigner was disliked simply because he was not English; the Jew was detested because he was something neither English nor foreign—an outcast and an

infidel—without a country, without a Saviour. Even an English nativity could not eradicate the vice in his blood ; for whether native or foreigner, a Jew in England was, in former times, equally an object of hatred and cruelty.

William the First is said to have first introduced the race of Israel into this country, from Rouen in Normandy. In London, they settled chiefly in those parts of the city called, after them, St. Lawrence Jewry, and Olave, or Old Jewry. They became immediately noted as money lenders, and for the exaction of an enormous interest on their loans ; nor can it be doubted, that their cupidity served, in some degree, to instigate that persecution which religious hatred inflamed. One of the earliest popular complaints against them was, that they had the conscience to exact two shillings a week for the loan of twenty.

When they appealed to William Rufus against the ill-treatment which they received from his Christian subjects, he deridingly told them, that if they would only shew that the Christian was not the true religion, he would himself become one of their sect.

In the reign of Henry II. the Jews were convicted, or, at least, accused of debasing the coin of the realm ; and many of them, on this account, punished severely. We learn from Hovenden, that it was the same prince who ordered that their burial place should be without the walls of the city.

Richard I. commanded, that neither women nor Jews should be present at his coronation ; the former because they were enchantresses ; the latter, because he imagined them (with less truth) to be sorcerers. Some

Jews having ventured to disobey this order, the populace fell upon them, and made the offence of the few a pretext for a general massacre.

The tyrant John, without any pretext whatever except that of their being Jews, extorted from them, by the most cruel tortures and threatenings, sixty thousand marks; one unfortunate creature had a tooth pulled out every day, till he was glad to ransom the remainder for ten thousand pieces. Nor could this have formed any part of the grievances which the barons rose in arms to redress; for with all their respect to rights and privileges, they scrupled not, on obtaining possession of London, to rifle and demolish the houses of the Jews, and to employ the stones in repairing the walls of the city. When Ludgate was taken down in 1586, in order to be rebuilt, a large stone was found in it, with this inscription in Hebrew characters.—“ This is the station (or ward) of Rabbi Moscs, the son of the honourable Rabbi Isaac.” Lord Coke thinks, that the Hebrew word, which is here rendered *station*, ought to be translated by the English words *burying* or *resting-place*; and that this was the inscription of a grave-stone. Stowe, whose translation we have followed, has, however, given the more usual acceptation of the term; nor is there any occasion, by a far-fetched meaning, to add to the guilt of the barons, that of robbing the repositories of the dead. That guilt could not, indeed, have been great in the eyes of Coke; for after telling us of a number of Jews, who were persuaded by the master of a ship to take a walk on a sand-bank, where they were all surrounded by the tide, and drowned, he has no other reflection to make on the perfidy of this

action than what is contained in this climax, "And so perished these infidel Jews."

The reign of Henry the Third was one of the most calamitous which the Jews in England ever experienced. It was now discovered, in addition to their other sins, that they kidnapped the children of Christians, and crucified them, in order to use their blood as a medicine. Above two hundred of them, accused of this crime, were brought up from Lincoln to Westminster, and eighteen of them actually hanged. Seven others were obliged, under a similar accusation, to pay twenty thousand marks to escape perpetual imprisonment. Henry offered them an opportunity of protecting themselves from these severities, by erecting a church for converted Jews near the Temple (now the *Rolls Chapel* in Chancery-lane); and it is not surprising, that, oppressed as they were, many of them became, or affected to become, converts to the Christian faith. The majority, however, remained stedfast to the belief of their fathers, nor did Henry refuse them permission to have a place of worship for themselves, but with a ludicrous anxiety for appearances, he required that they should dedicate it to the Virgin Mary! A synagogue, dedicated to the Blessed Lady, was accordingly erected in the Old Jewry. The disguise was probably too refined for vulgar eyes; for not long after, the populace, headed by many potent barons, rose and defaced the synagogue, slew seven hundred of the Jews, and despoiled those whose lives they spared. The synagogue in the Old Jewry became afterwards the seat of a new order of priests, called the Friars of the Sacke. On their dissolution by the Council of Lyons, it was

changed into a private residence, and was, last of all, a tavern, known by the not inappropriate sign of the *Windmill*.

The practice of pillaging the Jews had now become a matter of such approved antiquity, as to be considered a source from which either king or subject had a right to draw at pleasure. In 1271, when Prince Edward, Henry the Third's son, went on an expedition into the Holy Land, his father gave him a grant of 6000 marks, to be paid "*Judaismo nostro*." Edward himself, when he succeeded to the throne, seemed disposed to be lenient towards them ; for in the fourth year of his reign, there was a statute *de Judaismo* passed, which declared, that *the good Christians* should not take *above half* the substance of their Jewish brethren. His Christian subjects, displeased at such extraordinary forbearance, offered Edward a fifteenth of all their own goods, if he would expel the Jews entirely from his kingdom ; Edward yielded to the temptation, and was more than twice paid for consenting to act the tyrant and spoiler ; for after banishing the Jews, to the number of 15,060, and receiving the fifteenth promised by his own people, he disposed of the whole of the houses and lands which belonged to the banished Jews, and put the proceeds into his own coffers.

In the course of time, especially during the reigns of Edward the sixth, Henry the eighth, Elizabeth, and James, juster opinions and conduct began to prevail ; and the Jews, assured that the æra of persecution was at an end, found their way back in considerable numbers to London and other parts of England. Here they have ever since remained protected in their

persons and property, equally with other subjects, and in the free and open exercise of the religion of their fathers.

ANNEXATION OF SOUTHWARK.

On the south side of the Thames, opposite to London, lies the borough of Southwark, now a ward of the city, called Bridge Without. It formed anciently a separate and independent jurisdiction; but in the reign of Edward the Third, the corporation of London presented a petition to the king, setting forth, "that felons, robbers, and divers other malefactors and disturbers of the peace, who in the said city and elsewhere have committed murders, robberies, and divers other felonies, departing secretly from the said city, after such felonies committed, flee to the village of Southwark, and cannot there be attached by the ministers of the said city, and are there publicly received." They prayed, therefore, that "for the preservation of the peace in the said city, and to restrain the wickedness of these evil doers, his majesty would grant them the said village," &c. Edward did accordingly, with consent of parliament, grant them "the said village, with all its appurtenances," for the sum of 10*l.* to be paid annually. His successor, Richard, however, refused to confirm this grant, on the ground that it interfered with the privileges of certain religious houses within the Borough. Nor for several successive reigns were the corporation of London able to establish their right of superiority over it. The ecclesiastical privileges, which formed the chief obstacle to their pretensions, having, at

length, upon the general dissolution of religious houses, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, reverted into the hands of the crown, the corporation of London represented to his majesty, the opportunity which he now had of granting them that absolute annexation of the Borough, which they conceived to be so necessary to the good government of the city. Henry rejected their application, but the regents of his son, Edward VI., judging more wisely, resolved on granting the city all that they solicited. By letters patent, dated the 23d of April, in the 4th of Edward's reign, his majesty, in consideration of certain sums, paid and to be paid into the royal treasury, and for other reasons of public concern, granted to the City of London all his lordship and manor of Southwark, and also various messuages and tenements therein which had fallen to the crown, with such rights over the whole, as gave the corporation nearly the same absolute jurisdiction over the Borough, as it possesses in the City of London itself. Immediately after, it was erected into Bridge Ward Without; and of this ward, Sir John Ayliffe, citizen and barber surgeon, was the first alderman.

LONDON BRIDGE.

At what period a bridge was first thrown over the Thames, between London and Southwark, seems doubtful. The first notice we have of its existence occurs in the laws of Etheldred II., which fix the tolls to be paid on all vessels coming *up to the bridge*. William of Malmsbury also mentions this bridge, in his account of the sieges which the city sustained on

the invasion of England, by the Danes under Sweyn and Canute. That the bridge was erected between the years 993 and 1016, is inferred from the circumstance, that in the former year, Unlaf the Dane is said to have sailed much higher up the river; and that, in the latter year, Canute's progress was impeded by it.

The first bridge, which consisted entirely of timber, was not, as Stowe affirms, constructed by the convent of St. Mary Overy, but at the public expense, and in a different place from the present one, as we learn from a charter of William the Conqueror to Westminster Abbey, which mentions it as directly opposite to St. Botolph's-gate and wharf. The bridge was burnt in 1136, but not totally destroyed; it was repaired, but decayed so rapidly, that in the year 1163 it was taken down, and entirely rebuilt of timber. The expense of keeping it in repair was, however, so great, that in 1176 a new one of stone was begun to be erected on the present site. The most active promoter and superintendent of this building was a priest, called Peter of Colechurch, who was well skilled in architecture, and who has hence acquired the credit of being its founder; but the king, Henry II., the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several merchants of London, contributed largely to it. The aid granted by Henry II. to the bridge was in the form of a tax on wool, levied for the purpose; and hence arose a vulgar tradition, that "London-bridge was built on woolpacks." It was constructed on piles, principally of elm, which have remained for six centuries without material decay. On the piles, long beams of timber, ten inches thick, were placed, strongly bolted toge-

ther, and the lowermost stones were embedded in pitch, in order to resist the water.

In 1202, King John appointed Isenbert of Xainctes to finish the bridge, Peter of Colechurch being either dead or incapacitated from attending to it. The same monarch gave the profits and rents of several plots of ground, sold or let for building, towards the building and repairing of the bridge; and during the same reign, the master mason built a large chapel on the centre arch, at his own expense, which was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket.

The erection of chapels on bridges is of the highest antiquity, and, no doubt, originated from the custom of making sacrifices on bridges, whence Plutarch has derived the word Pontifex. The most remarkable bridge of this sort was at Droitwich, where the high road passed through the chapel, and divided the congregation from the reading-desk and pulpit. The priests attached to the chapels were commissioned, as an indispensable part of their office, to keep the bridge in repair; and hence, although Stowe is wrong in stating, that London-bridge was built by the priests of St. Mary Overy, it is not improbable that they were enjoined to repair it, in accordance with the ancient custom. The chapel on London-bridge was, at first, endowed for two priests and four clerks, and in the reign of Henry VI. it maintained four chaplains.

Four years after the bridge was finished, it was the scene of a very tragical accident. In the night of the 10th of July, 1213, a fire broke out in Southwark; when the bridge became crowded with people, all hastening from the city, either to witness or ex-

tinguish the conflagration. The flames, catching St. Mary Overy's church, were, by a strong southerly wind, extended to the Southwark end of the bridge: those who were foremost in the advancing throng endeavoured, but vainly, to fall back from the destroying element; the multitude on the London side, ignorant of the danger, continued to press unyieldingly forward, and, in this tumultuous conflict, numbers were trampled to death; others leaped into the river, to find only a watery grave; while many more perished miserably in the flames. Not less than three thousand lives are stated to have been lost on the occasion.

It is supposed, that at this period the only building on the bridge was the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket; nay, it has been said, that even as late as 1395, "the bridge, at that time, was only coped on each side, and not replenished with houses." (Seymour and Marchant.) That, at least, the last statement is erroneous, is, however, quite certain; for among the records, preserved in the Tower, there are letters patent of Edward the First, by which, in 1280, he authorizes a collection to be made throughout the realm, for the repair of London-bridge, which is there described to be in such a ruinous condition, that "unless speedy remedy be put, not only the sudden fall of the bridge, but also *the destruction of innumerable people dwelling on it*, may suddenly be feared."

Some curious particulars are also extant of the value of those houses in the reign of Edward I. The king is stated to have received only *eleven* shillings and fourpence rents of assize, for the greater part of the houses towards the Southwark end, and sixteen

shillings and a halfpenny for the customs on goods sold there. Three halfpence and two pence halfpenny was at this time the rent of several of the messuages; and a fruiterer's shop, described to have been two yards and a half and one thumb in length, and three yards and two thumbs in depth, was let on a lease from the bridgemaster at a rental of twelve pence.

The subscriptions obtained under the letters patent of Edward the First being found inadequate to the execution of the repairs wanted, Edward, in 1281, ordered a toll to be levied, during three years, on all persons crossing the bridge with merchandize, and on "every saleable pack."

Whenever it was necessary for the sovereign to cross the bridge, he was treated with great magnificence by the citizens. Richard II., and his young queen, Anne of Bohemia, were met by the citizens "at the gate of the brigge of London," says an old chronicler, "where they presented him with a mylk-white stede, saddled and bridled, and trapped with cloth of gold and rede parted togedre; and the Quenc, a palfry all white, and in the same way trapped with white and rede, while all the condites were rounen with wyne, bothe whyte and rede, for all manner of peple to drynke of."

In 1282, on the breaking up of the river after a great frost, five arches of the bridge were carried away; and though these appear to have been immediately restored, yet in 1289, the bridge was again so much decayed, that people were afraid to pass over it. A new collection was, therefore, made through-

out the kingdom for its repair, and that yielding, as before, but little, it was found necessary, in 1298, to revive the toll on goods and passengers.

Although the bridge was now so encumbered with houses, that the broad way between them did not exceed twelve feet in breadth, it appears to have been employed as a sort of joint mart for the inhabitants of the City and those of the Borough. The first order of common council upon record, is one of 1277, prohibiting "any market from being held on London Bridge." What had been a theatre for the quarrels of costermongers, became afterwards the chosen spot of jousts of a higher order. On St. George's day, 1395, there was a grand jousting match upon London Bridge, at which the Lord Wells engaged to maintain the renown of England against all comers. A stout Scotsman, David, Earl of Crawford, entered the lists, and at the third course, threw the English champion out of his saddle.

In 1471, when Falconbridge was repulsed in his attempt to seize the city, several houses on the bridge were burnt down by the disappointed invaders. The next remarkable conflagration took place in 1632, when forty houses were destroyed. The Thames being frozen over at the time, water could not be obtained, and the fire continued burning in the vaults and cellars upwards of a week. All the houses destroyed on this occasion had not been replaced, when the great fire of 1666 caused a still greater devastation.

Amidst the general improvements for which that calamity paved the way, the bridge was not neglected. The whole of the houses, from one end to the

other, were taken down, with the exception of one house at the north end, which had been constructed in Holland, and was called the Tower of London Bridge, or the *Nonsuch*, from its not having a single nail in it, but being pinned together with wooden pegs. New ones were erected of an uniform breadth and elevation; and three vacancies left at equal distances, from which a view of the river might be obtained. The *Nonsuch* occupying the whole breadth of the bridge, the archway under it was raised to the height of two stories, and over it the following inscription was placed:

“ Anno MDCLXXXV. et primo Jacobo II. Regis.

“ This street was opened and enlarged from 12 to the width of 20 feet.

“ Sir James Smith, Knight, Lord Mayor.”

The bridge itself consisted, as at present, of 19 arches, the highest of which rises 60 feet above the water level.

The three widest of these arches used to be called *The Navigable Locks*, from their being the only ones which afford an easy passage for vessels. The one nearest to the London side was particularly distinguished by the name of *The Rock Lock*, in consequence of a strange imagination among the vulgar, that there was a *growing* or *vegetating* species of rock beneath the water at this spot. — It appears from many subsequent observations, that this growing rock was nothing more than a collection of fallen materials;

some former arch or coping—which, by serving as a nucleus for the deposits of millions of tides, has given rise to the popular and metaphorical notion.

The arch nearest of all to the London side was formed of a drawbridge ; and as late as 1722, such were the ideas which then prevailed of the means by which the invasion of enemies is best resisted, that the corporation did not grudge the expense of laying down a new one, nor the public the interruption occasioned by this idle project for adding to the security of the capital.

Besides the Nonsuch Tower at the city end of the bridge, there was another at the Southwark end, and to each there were gates with posterns for foot passengers. It was on the last of these towers that the heads of traitors, in later times, were exposed, when the citizens of London falling into a distaste for such marks of civilization, chose to remove them from their own end of the bridge. As late as 1598, Hentzner, the German traveller, relates, that he counted on it above thirty heads.

In 1756, an act of parliament was obtained for improving the bridge, and a temporary wooden bridge was constructed while the repairs were going on ; but, with the fate common to wooden bridges, the latter was destroyed by fire the 11th April, 1759. The two centre arches of the stone bridge were now thrown into one ; and the remaining houses, which were principally occupied by pin and needle makers, were taken down, and the bridge put into that state in which it now appears.

On the opening of the great arch, the excavation

around and under the starlings was so considerable, that the bridge was thought to be in great danger of falling. Mr. Smeaton, the engineer, was then in Yorkshire, but an express was sent for him, and he arrived with the utmost despatch; when the apprehensions of the bridge falling were so general, that few persons would pass over or under it. Mr. Smeaton having ascertained the state of the starlings, and called the committee together, recommended that they should re-purchase the stones that had been taken from the middle pier, then lying in Moorfields, and throw them into the river to guard the starlings. Nothing shews the fears entertained for the stability of the bridge more than the alacrity with which his advice was adopted. The stones were repurchased that day, and on the following morning, the work commenced, which in all probability preserved the bridge from falling, and secured it until more effectual methods could be taken.

London Bridge is the greatest thoroughfare across the river. When the Southwark Bridge was projected, the directors attended one day in July, 1811, in order to ascertain the extent of this thoroughfare. On that day 89,640 foot passengers, 769 waggon's, 2924 carts and drays, 1240 coaches, 485 gigs and taxed carts, and 764 horses, passed over it.

GROWTH OF LONDON.

Politicians and legislators have at various times expressed considerable uneasiness and alarm at the growth of the metropolis.

It has, notwithstanding, still continued advancing, amidst all impediments and obstructions, to a most gigantic size. Conjecture even dares not affix its limits; for every succeeding year we see some waste ground in the suburbs reclaimed and covered with dwellings, some little village or hamlet in the suburbs united by a continuous street to the metropolis, until what once, and that at no remote period, was London and its environs, is now one great compact city,—going far to verify the prediction of James the First, that “England will shortly be London, and London England.”

The first of our sovereigns that attempted to preserve the kingdom from what was termed the evils of an overgrown metropolis, was Queen Elizabeth, who passed a statute against new buildings, and commanded that “persons of livelihood and means should reside in their countries, and not abide or sojourn in the city of London, so that countries remain unserved.” This proclamation was renewed by James I. who, as Mr. D’Israeli well expresses it, “like an hypochondriac, was ludicrously terrified that the head was too monstrous for the body, and that it drew all the moisture of life from the middle and the extremities.” James, in one of his addresses to his people, of which he was always most liberal, speaks of “those swarms of gentry, who, through the instigation of their wives, or to new model and fashion their daughters, (who if they were unmarried marred their reputations, and if married lost them,) did neglect their country hospitality, and cumber the city, a general nuisance to the kingdom.” The monarch urged the Star-Chamber to regulate “the exorbitancy of the

new buildings about the city, which were but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes, like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses like Italians." A manuscript writer of the times, quoted by the elegant author to whom we have already alluded, complains of the breaking up of old family establishments, all crowding to "upstart London." "Every one," says he, "strives to be a Diogenes in his house, and an emperor in the streets: not caring if they sleep in a tub, so they must be hurried in a coach, giving that allowance to horses and mares, that formerly maintained houses full of men; pinching many a belly to paint a few backs, and turning all the treasures of the kingdom into a few citizens' coffers, their woods into wardrobes, their leases into laces, and their goods and chattels into guarded coats and gaudy toys."

The government, however, did not confine itself to mere fulminations against the growth of London, for new buildings were not only forbidden within ten miles of London, but even pulled down when they had been erected. Charles the First issued various proclamations, in which he complained of the continued residence of the nobility and gentry in town, which raised the price of provisions, increased the number of mendicants, and brought so many loose and disorderly people into the metropolis, that it could not be governed by ordinary magistrates. He ordered that persons of all ranks, who were not connected with public offices, should resort to their several counties, and that "they should not put them-

selves to unnecessary charge in providing themselves to return in winter to the said cities, as it was the king's firm resolution to withstand such great and growing evil."

Proclamations proving ineffectual, the odious Star-Chamber determined that they should no longer remain a dead letter; an inquisitorial examination of all strangers was ordered, and an account taken of their time of residence and departure. Prosecutions were instituted by the attorney-general; and one gentleman, a Mr. Palmer, from Sussex, was fined 1000*l.* a whole year's income, for disobeying the proclamation which ordered a residence in the country; and to discourage all other gentlemen from living in town, the proclamation prohibited any pheasants, ducks, partridges, or hares, from being dressed or eaten in any inn. It is true, that these rigorous proceedings rendered the government obnoxious, and proved ineffectual; yet they were attempted to be renewed even in the reign of that "merry monarch, scandalous and poor," Charles the Second.

If the Stuarts felt alarmed at the size of the metropolis in their day, what must they have felt in the present times, when more houses are frequently built in a single year, than during the whole of their united reigns!

It appears by the census of 1821, that London, including the borough of Southwark, contained the vast number of 161,905 houses, and that 3437 other houses were then building; and when we consider that every month brings a large addition, it probably would not be too much to estimate the metropolis as

at present containing 170,000 houses; nor are its limits likely to stop here, but to be extended considerably in succeeding ages.

POPULATION.

Until the general census of the population was taken in 1801, political economists differed widely in their estimates of the number of inhabitants the metropolis contained, and of the progressive ratio of increase. In the year 1377, London is said to have contained about 35,000 inhabitants. Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, says, that when Charles I. wished to ascertain the number of papists and strangers resident in the city, he sent a precept, in 1636-7, to Sir Edward Bromfield, then lord-mayor, who caused a census to be taken of the whole population within the city walls, which, at that time, is said, though erroneously, no doubt, to have amounted to 700,000. Howell having no suspicion of the inaccuracy of this calculation, and inferring that the population had increased one-third, during the twenty years that had elapsed before he published his work; and adding to this the population of the city of Westminster and the suburbs, estimates the whole to amount to a million and a half of men, women, and children.

Sir William Petty, whose knowledge of political economy must ever entitle him to respect, formed an equally fallacious opinion as to the increase of population in London. In 1632, he calculated the number of houses at 84,000; and that there were eight persons in each house, which would give a population of

672,000. Sir William expected, that London would go on increasing until the year 1800, when he thought the population would amount to five millions, three hundred and fifty-nine thousand persons!

An historian, who wrote in 1746, calculated the number of houses at 124,000, and the population at 992,000; but eight years after, Dr. Brakenbridge fixed it at only 751,812 persons, and there is strong reason to believe that this estimate was nearly correct.

But to come to more certain data, we find that, according to the census of 1801, London, at that time, contained 121,229 houses, inhabited by 216,073 families, making 864,845 persons. In 1811, it had increased to 1,099,104, and in 1821 to 1,225,964 persons. The last census is very minute in its details, and perhaps as accurate as it can well be made. It states, that the city of London, *within the walls*, contains 7938 houses, inhabited by 11,571 families, or 56,174 persons, of whom 27,506 are males, and 28,668 females. Two families are stated to be employed in agriculture; 9609 in trade or manufactures, &c.; and 1960 families, not comprised in either of these two classes. Thirty-two houses were building, and 560 uninhabited.

The city, *without the walls*, including the inns of court and chancery, comprises 9232 houses, inhabited by 16,497 families, of whom fifty-five are employed in agriculture, 11,592 in trade, &c., and 4850 families in neither trade nor agriculture. The number of males is 34,441, and of females 34,819, making a total of 69,260. Seventy-three houses are returned as building, and 455 as uninhabited.

The city and liberties of Westminster contain 18,502

inhabited houses, 382 uninhabited, and 391 building. The population consists of 41,558 families, or 182,085 persons, of whom 85,082 are males and 97,003 females. Of the families, 308 are engaged in agriculture, 25,126 in trade, and 16,120 in neither the one nor the other.

The Borough of Southwark contains a population of 85,905 persons, of whom 41,690 are males and 44,215 are females. The number of houses inhabited is 12,477; the families 21,207, of whom 272 are employed in agriculture, 15,075 in trade, and 5,860 are not comprised in either of these classes. In 1821 there were 208 houses building and 502 uninhabited.

A considerable portion of the population of the metropolis does not, however, come under any of these divisions, but belongs to what may be called the Suburbs in the Hundred of Ossulstone, which is classed into four divisions, Finsbury, Holborn, Kensington, and the Tower. These parts of the town are every year rapidly increasing; and at the time that the last census was taken, not fewer than 2,260 houses were building in this hundred, of which upwards of 1000 were in the Tower division alone.

While the population rapidly increases in every other part of London, it decreases in the city. In 1701 it amounted to 139,300, in 1750 to 87,000, and at the last census did not exceed 56,174 persons. This continued diminution naturally arises from the limits being fixed, the improvements made in widening the streets, the great number of families that keep country houses, and the conversion of the houses of the city into warehouses or offices.

CLIMATE.

It appears, from a great variety of historical evidence, that the climate of England was in ancient times more genial than it is now. The springs were earlier, the summers longer, and both seasons more warm and dry than they have ever been within the memory of any person now living. Heavy or long continued falls of rain were of such rare occurrence as to be recorded by our chroniclers amongst the most memorable events of their time. Ralph de Diceto tells us that, in 1296, a continued fall of *showers* throughout England, for *three days, terrified many.*" (*Decem Scriptores*, 69.) We find that, in these golden days, even Bacchus smiled on our hills. The grape was commonly cultivated for the manufacture of wine, while now it can scarcely be brought to produce a scanty crop, even in the warmest seasons, and in situations the most exposed to the sun. "We had a vineyard in East Smithfield," says the learned Mr. Bagford, in his letter to Hearne, on the ancient state of London, "another in Hatton-garden, (which is at this time called Vine-street,) and a third in St. Giles's in the Fields." The many *Vine* streets in other parts of the metropolis, in Bloomsbury, in Westminster, in Piccadilly, in Lambeth, in the Borough, may probably have derived their name from the same source. The change which the climate has subsequently undergone, appears to have chiefly taken place during the last century. At as late a period as the Restoration, our climate had not acquired that prevailing humidity for which it is now become proverbial.—

Charles the Second, whose daily habits of walking about the metropolis gave him the best opportunities of correct observation on the subject, used to say, that there never was a day in which it rained so incessantly that a person could not take a dry walk for one hour out of the twenty-four. So much is the case now altered, that most people would be glad if they could be sure of a dry walk once every three days.

The inhabitants of London, however, have less reason to complain of the deterioration of the climate than perhaps any other part of this country. It is a circumstance not perhaps generally known, that the temperature of the air in the metropolis is raised by the artificial sources of heat existing in it, no less than *two degrees* on the annual mean above that of its immediate vicinity. Mr. Howard has fully established this fact, by a comparison of a long series of observations made at Plaistow, Stratford, and Tottenham-green, (all within four miles of London,) with those made at the apartments of the Royal Society in London, and periodically recorded in the Philosophical Transactions. His explanation of the causes of this difference is simple and convincing. "Whoever," he says, "has passed his hands over the surface of a glass hive, whether in summer or winter, will have perceived how much the little bodies of the collected multitude of bees are capable of heating the place that contains them. But the proportion of warmth which is induced in a city by the population, must be far less considerable than that emanating from fires, the greater part of which are kept up for the very purpose of preventing the sensation attending the

escape of heat from our bodies. A temperature equal to that of spring is hence maintained in the depth of winter, in the included part of the atmosphere, which, as it escapes from the houses, is constantly renewed. Another, and a more considerable portion of heated air, is constantly poured into the common mass from the chimnies; to which, lastly, we have to add the heat diffused in all directions from the founderies, breweries, steam engines, and other manufactories, and culinary fires." (Howard on Climate, vol. ii. p. 104. 106.) When we consider, that all these artificial sources of heat, with the exception of the domestic fires, continue in full operation throughout the summer, it should seem, that the excess of the London temperature must be still greater in June than it is in January; but the fact is otherwise. The excess of the city temperature is greatest in winter, and at that period seems to belong entirely to *the nights*, which average three degrees and seven-tenths warmer than the country; while the heat of *the days*, owing, without doubt, to the interception of a portion of the solar rays by a constant veil of smoke, falls, on a mean of years, about a third of a degree short of that on open plains.

The usual range of the thermometer in London is from 5 to 95 deg. Even in the coldest seasons, however, the medium of the twenty-four hours, upon a long average, does not fall below the freezing point. Continued frost in winter is always an exception therefore to the general rule of the climate.

The most severe frosts of which we have any record were those of 1683, 1716, 1739, 1766, 1768,

1785, 1789, 1795, and 1814. Few of these, however, were peculiar to London; the greater number were, more or less, common to the whole of the north of Europe.

The frost of 1683, which is the first great one of which we have a particular account, appears to have been one of the most general and intense. The Thames was frozen to such an extent and depth, that even as far down as Woolwich the heaviest loaded carriages passed securely over it. From the Temple to Southwark it was covered with temporary shops and booths, arranged in streets and squares, where hackney-coaches plied as safely as on the *terra firma* of the metropolis. Shows and pastimes of all sorts diversified the scene; and the merry monarch himself (Charles II.) mingled with his subjects in celebrating the novelty of a frost fair. In the nighttime the cold was so severe, that large fires were kept burning in Cheapside, Fleet-street, and other principal streets, to save from perishing those whose necessary avocations called them abroad; but notwithstanding this humane precaution, and the most commendable exertions on the part of the rich and benevolent to provide the poor with fuel at their own homes, many were the instances of persons in the lower walks of life being frozen to death. Wild ducks and other water fowl, driven from their native fastnesses to seek shelter in the haunts of men, dropped down dead in the public streets; and so general was the havoc among the feathered tribe, that in the ensuing summer scarcely a bird was to be seen. In other parts of Europe the cold was as severe as it was in England; particularly in Germany and France,

where the number of human beings frozen to death appears to have been much greater than in England, owing, no doubt, to the inferior condition of the people of these countries, in all that regards the comforts and charities of life.

Next to the frost of 1683 in its disastrous consequences was that of 1739, which was also common to the whole of the north of Europe. The Thames was again completely frozen, but in a few days after so high a wind arose as to sweep every thing moveable from its surface. The number of the shipping in the river happened to be unusually great; and, locked up by the ice, they opposed a resistance to the fury of the wind, which made its ravages only the more destructive. Numbers were blown to pieces, and sunk; and all were, more or less, stripped and shattered. Never had the Thames, in the memory of those living, presented a more dismal scene of wreck and destruction. The damage done between London Bridge and the Medway was computed at not less than 100,000*l*. Many were the lives also lost upon this occasion; and severe the sufferings of the lower classes of people, although charity was again both active to save, and most liberal in its benefactions.

The frost of 1814 was, in some respects, even more memorable than those of 1683 and 1739. It was probably not so severe as either, and the injury which it committed was inconsiderable; but it served to exhibit in a remarkable manner the progress which a free people have made in those attainments, which help us to set the seasons themselves at defiance. As in the days of the gay Charles, mirth and jollity again joined hand in hand to soften the rigours of the

icy year ; but among other novelties, we beheld what in Charles's days would have been more dreaded than even perpetual frost—A FREE PRESS erected on the now solid deep, to commemorate the wonders of the scene. In one of the productions of this press on the ice, we have the memory of the event thus proudly recorded :

“ OMNIPOTENT PRESS.

“ Tyrant winter has enchained the noblest torrent that flows to the main ; but summer will return, and set the captive free.

“ So may tyranny for a time freeze the genial current of the soul ; but a Free Press, like the great source of light and heat, will ere long dissolve the tyranny of the mightiest.

“ Greatest of arts ! What do we not owe to thee ? The knowledge which directs industry ; the liberty which encourages it ; the security which protects it. And of Industry how precious are the fruits ! Glowing and hardy temperaments which defy the vicissitudes of seasons, and comfortable homes which make you regret not the gloom that is abroad. But for industry, but for printing, you might now have been content, like the Russ and the Laplander, to bury yourselves for warmth under that snow, over which you now tread in mirth and glee.

“ Printed on the river Thames, and in commemoration of a great fair held upon it on the 31st of January, 1814, when it was completely frozen over from shore to shore. The frost commenced 27th December, 1813, was accompanied with a thick fog that lasted eight days ; and after the fog came a

heavy fall of snow, that prevented all communication with the northern and western parts of the country for several days."

In this fugitive memorial there are truths recorded, deserving of the highest consideration in our estimate of the climate of the British metropolis.—“Many countries,” as Sir Gilbert Blane well observes, “surpass England in the mild and equal temperature of their climate, and in the natural fertility and superior productions of their soil. But it would not be difficult to prove, that the strenuous exertion of mind and body called forth to counteract this apparent unkindness of nature, have been the essential causes of that superiority of character, which distinguishes the inhabitants of this island, as well as of that pre-eminent power, prosperity, and happiness, which they enjoy. The four great necessities of life are food, clothing, shelter, and fuel; and it is by the skill and labour which the climate of England renders indispensable for the procuring the first three of these, that those habits of industry and hardihood are acquired, which are equally conducive to virtue, intelligence, and health.”

This view of the effects of an active life, Sir Gilbert supports by two remarkable facts.—“In the south of Europe the atmospheric heat confines people to the house the greater part of the day, for a great part of the year, while we are in the full enjoyment of the healthful delights of the open air, and even disregard the fervor of the sun-beams from which they shrink. Nor do we find ourselves under the necessity, like the Russians, to contrive such a system

of guarding against cold in winter, as to induce habits of tenderness and effeminacy even amongst the lowest ranks. In the year 1797, a squadron of Russian ships of war entered our ports, and having become sickly I visited them officially, in order to make arrangements for their treatment and accommodation. I found that their unhealthy state proceeded chiefly from cold, and that their extremities were frost-bitten, that they fell into torpidity and gangrene, from a degree of cold from which the British seamen felt no inconvenience. Had they been in their own country at this season, they would have been out of the reach of cold, in close and warm habitations under ground." "What an ascendant," concludes this intelligent writer, "do the natives of the British isles, as a military nation, possess over their neighbours and rivals in the north and south, in being thus able to endure the extremities of heat and cold better than the natives themselves of these respective countries, as has been historically and practically proved. For is it not ascribable to this, that they have outstripped their antagonists in the race of arts and arms in all climates, pushing the pursuits of war, commerce, and science, in the five zones, to the utmost verge of the habitable earth, and the navigable ocean."—(Select Dissertations, pp. 159-160.)

MATERIALS AND STYLE OF BUILDINGS.

Although the Romans introduced the art of brick-making into Britain, and appear to have also suggested the employment of the slate, with which this country abounds, as a covering for roofs (Leland,

vol. viii. p. 30), yet for many centuries after their departure the houses of London consisted mostly of wood, with mantlings of straw thatch. Neither the Romans nor early Britons knew any thing of glass; and a window was literally a *wind-door*, (from the British *wynt-dor*). In the houses of the wealthier orders, these windows were furnished with lattices of wood; some few with sheets of linen. Nor though glass was introduced in England as early as 674, did it come into use for windows before 1180. In the reign of Alfred, the example of that judicious prince induced many of his thanes, and those of London among the number, to construct their houses of stone and brick; but the practice did not become general till a great many ages after. In 1192, the Corporation of London made an order, that "all houses thereafter to be erected in London, or within the liberties thereof, should be built of stone, with party-walls of the same, and covered either with slates or tiles." But with so little effect was this regulation attended, that, in 1604, above four centuries after, James the First found it necessary to issue his royal commands, that "in future *the fronts, at least*, of all edifices should be of brick or stone, which would promote the farther views of decoration and embellishment, as well as be an additional security against fire." After this period, the partiality for wood, which had so long inveterately prevailed, seems to have rapidly given way to a growing sense of the fragile and inflammable nature of this material; and the great fire of 1666 was only wanting to complete a process of conviction, which (such is the stubborn quality of ancient prejudice) it had taken about a dozen

centuries, and about as many wasting conflagrations, to subdue.

The close contiguity of the houses was an evil of as antient date, and always as much deplored, as the nature of the materials of which they were constructed. It has been usual to blame the Romans for the introduction of this custom. "Neglecting," as we are told, "to inform themselves of the peculiarities of climate, these people formed the British streets and buildings after models of their own cities, and did not discover, that the more temperate air of this island precluded the necessity of such buildings as in Rome, to screen the inhabitants from the heat of the sun." (Hughson, vol. i. p. 12.) We are surprised, that it ever should have been necessary to vindicate the sagacity of the Romans from such an imputation. He must be credulous, indeed, who can imagine, that after fighting their way from the Tiber to the Tay, these luxurious warriors should not discover, that the air grew colder as they advanced, and that a screen from the sun was no longer necessary! The cause of this closeness in the buildings lies evidently a great deal nearer home. It seems to have arisen, at first, from the desire so natural to all persons in a troubled state of society, to take shelter within the limits of some fortified position; and to have been continued latterly, solely because of those corporate privileges, which are so well calculated to compensate all inconveniences and dangers of a minor order. To such an extent had this evil reached, that even as late as the reign of Charles II., Sir William Davenant facetiously remarks in a letter to a friend, that "the streets seem to have been contrived in the days of wheel-barrows, before

those greater engines, carts, were invented;" and that "the garrets are so made, that opposite neighbours may shake hands, without stirring from home." When the city came to be rebuilt, after the great fire, the government very properly interposed its authority, to prevent "the king's free chamber" from being again thus crowded to suffocation. In the royal proclamation, issued immediately afterwards, Charles II. declared, "that Fleet-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and all other eminent and notorious streets, should be of such a breadth as may, with God's blessing, prevent the mischief that one side may suffer if the other be on fire, which was the case lately in Cheapside;" and that "though all the streets cannot be of equal breadth, yet none shall be so narrow as to make the passage uneasy or inconvenient, especially towards the water-side," &c. This resolution was, to a certain extent, carried into effect by the plan adopted under an act of parliament, for rebuilding the city, but by no means so completely, as to leave us without much occasion to regret the use which was then made of an opportunity of making the streets of London whatever convenience or elegance required. Had the plan of Sir Christopher Wren been adopted, there would have been three principal streets running straight through the city; at least ninety feet wide; one or two cross ones of the same breadth; others sixty feet; and none less than thirty. There was another plan submitted by Dr. Newcourt, father of the author of the *Repertorium*, which seems to us to have offered even nobler prospects than that of Wren. It is impossible to read, that London could once have been made such a city as is here projected, without a

pang of sore regret, that the opportunity was for ever lost. But why need we repine at past omissions? Were the same opportunity to occur even now, who can say, that even the taste of a Newcourt, or a Wren, would be allowed to prevail?

According to the plan of Newcourt, there was to be "one straight goodly row of noble buildings" facing the river, from the Tower to Bridewell, and in front of it "a fair wharf of sixty yards broad to the water's side;" this row of buildings was to be erected on arches, through which all the streets, leading from the water-side, were to open, so that the continuity of the terrace might remain unbroken. In the body of the city there were to be seven straight streets, running from east to west, at an equal distance from each other; these seven were to be intersected at right angles by seven others, leading from north to south; and each of these fourteen streets were to be eighty feet broad. By this plan of allotment, the city would have been divided into sixty-four equal portions. Four of these were to form a grand central square, 670 yards long, and 460 broad; it was to be environed with houses upon arches, like the piazza in Covent-garden; in the middle there was to be "a most stately Guildhall;" on the east side "a noble palace for the lord-mayor;" on the west, "the Royal Exchange;" and on the north, "the store houses of the city, or any other eminent or public piles. Four other portions were to form lesser squares, nearly on the same plan as the grand square; and in the centre of one of them, the cathedral of St. Paul's was to raise its head, a noble rival to the "stately Guildhall." The remaining fifty-five portions were to form

so many parishes, with a church and church-yard in the centre of each, and four "handsome streets or lanes" leading to it from the main street. "And thus," said the ingenious Newcourt, "have I shaped this new city, submitting myself to the judgement and censure of more able artists."

The vast space allotted in the plans, both of Wren and Newcourt, to open streets and squares, forms so striking a contrast to what we now meet with in perambulating the city, as to leave one, at first, in doubt as to the possibility there was of carrying them into effect.—But the explanations given by the projectors show clearly, that in either case all this space might have been gained for the public, without the least sacrifice of private right. The plan of Wren would have left more ground to build upon than Newcourt's, for he proposed, that all the church-yards should be placed out of the town; and in both these respects, it was certainly the better plan of the two. The citizens should have selected the good points of each; they might have added some, equally good, from other plans that were offered to them; and had all this been done, their city would have arisen and remained without a rival in the world for magnificence and beauty.

Next to regularity in the allotments for streets and squares, there is nothing so material to the beauty of a city, as uniformity in the buildings, varied only by a regard to picturesque effect, and not as mere caprice and whim may dictate. It must be allowed, at the same time, that the deviations, in this respect, must be extreme, before they offend greatly; for even where whim and caprice are most obvious, they sug-

gest a moral consideration, which is pleasing to the mind, since they show, that here every man enjoys the liberty of having his own home to his own taste. When we read, accordingly, the description which Sir William Davenant gives, in the letter we have before quoted, of the excessive diversity in the appearance of the houses of London in his days, we find there is satire, without the sting; we discover, at once, that he is describing a city of freemen.—“Is unanimity of inhabitants,” says Davenant, “in wise cities better exprest, than by their coherence and uniformity of building; where streets begin, continue, and end, in a like stature and shape: but yours (as if they were raised in a general insurrection, where every man hath a several design,) differ in all things that can make distinction. Here stands one that aims to be a palace, and next it, another that professes to be a hovel; here a giant, there a dwarf; here slender, there broad; and in all most admirably different in faces, as well as in height and bulk. I was about to defie any Londoner, who dares pretend there is so much ingenious correspondence in this city, as that he can show me one house like another; yet your houses seem to be reverend and formal, being compared to the fantastic looks of the modern, which have more ovals, niches, and angles, than are in your custards, and are inclosed with pasteboard walls, like those of malicious Turks, who, because themselves are not immortal, and cannot dwell for ever where they build, therefore wish not to be at charge to provide such lastingness, as may entertain their children out of the rain; so slight and prettily gaudy, that if they could move they would pass for pageants.

It is your custom, where men vary often the mode of their habits, to term the nation fantastical ; but where streets continually change fashion, you should make haste to chain up the city, for it is certainly mad !"—“ The commodity and trade of your river,” adds Davenant, “ belong to yourself ; but give a stranger leave to share in the pleasure of it, which will hardly be in the prospect or freedom of air, unless prospect, consisting of variety, be made up with here a palace, there a wood yard, here a garden, there a brewhouse, here dwells a lord, there a dyer, and between both *duomo comune*. If freedom of air be inferred in the liberty of the subject, where every private man hath authority, for his own profit, to smoke up a magistrate, then the air of your Thames is open enough, because it is equally free.”

The *variety* of Davenant's time is not certainly that of the present day ; yet even now the curious stranger may identify many of the features of his description, especially in sailing down the river. The constantly increasing value of ground in the city has tended gradually to remove the meaner sort of fabrics, and the variety which we now witness is more of that order which arises from a rivalry in convenience and stability, if not in taste and elegance. We speak here chiefly of London, properly so called ; for in the west end of the town, as Westminster is styled in popular speech, the graces seem to have taken the genius of architecture by the hand.

The defect for which, more than any other, the buildings of London are remarkable, arises from the quality of the stone employed. The ancients appear to have had a just regard in their public works, to

perpetuate the public spirit of the æra in which they were erected; but the present state of all the more ancient and costly structures of London rather shows, that the selection of materials, on which durability depends, has been left to chance to determine, or that calculations of false economy and present convenience have superseded all regard for the esteem of posterity. St. Paul's Cathedral, Somerset House, Whitehall, the three bridges of London, Westminster, and Blackfriars, are all affecting examples of early decay. The materials used in these buildings, and in London generally, is Portland stone. It is a sort of limestone, and no limestone is fit for buildings, in which durability is consulted. It varies, besides, remarkably in its qualities of hardness and compactness; and but little discrimination seems to have been used in selecting the best sorts. In the construction of St. Paul's, there has been evidently greater care than usual taken in this respect, for its exterior is less impaired than that of many buildings, of a date much more recent; but in several parts, especially towards the top, the process of decomposition has already made wasteful progress.—Whitehall-chapel is an example of the opposite extreme; it looks as if it were rotting to pieces. Mr. Bakewell, who has written a most intelligent essay "On the Application of Mineralogical and Chemical Science to the Selection of Stone, for the purposes of durable Architecture,"—an essay which ought to be in the hands of every builder and architect—says, of Somerset House, "On walking into the court of Somerset House, after some weeks of dry weather, I

was particularly struck with the appearance of the columns on the left-hand, facing the west. The stones in three columns were some of them entirely coated with soot, when the stones above and below were perfectly white. In other parts, a white stone was between two black ones ; and the division of colour as distinct, as if the one had been painted white and the other black. These stones were all equally exposed, and the variation of colour could not be explained by their situation." Mr. Bakewell enters into some considerations, to prove that this striking diversity has arisen from an indiscriminate employment of Portland stone, without any regard to its great varieties. Here, however, History must come to the aid of Science ; and in vindication of the architect. That choice, which is the attendant of purchase, had nothing to do with the materials of Somerset House. The protector—the *tyrant* Somerset—built it with the stones of the parish-church of St. Mary, of a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the cloisters and charnel-house attached to it ; and of a church, dedicated to St. John of Jerusalem ; all of which he caused to be taken down, in order to supply him with materials for the erection of this magnificent building. He would have pulled down, too, the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, for the same purpose ; but the parishioners rose in defence of their sacred edifice, and having put the protector's workmen to flight, it is to their piety, most probably, the blame belongs, if blame it be, that the eastern wing of this monument of sacrilege remains incomplete.

PAVING AND LIGHTING THE STREETS.

Although the custom of paving the streets of cities is of remote antiquity, the eleventh century had nearly elapsed before those of London received this necessary improvement. In 1090, they consisted of such a mass of loose soil, that four beams of timber, twenty-six feet in length, having been blown down from the top of St. Mary-le-Bow church, Cheapside, which was then under repair, they sunk so deep in the ground, that scarcely four feet of them remained above the surface. Some of the central streets of the city appear to have been, shortly after this event, paved, or more probably only compacted, like our country roads at the present day; but so slowly did the example spread, that the great thoroughfare of Holborn was not regularly paved till 1417, and Smithfield not till 1614. At the present day, the British metropolis is one of the best paved cities in Europe. The sort of stone originally used was the Kentish rag stone, dug in the vicinity of Maidstone; but that has since been very generally superseded by the Scotch paving of blue whynn, or granite.

The lighting of the city seems to have been also a benefit, of late and slow introduction. Lanterns are said to have been first hung up to light the streets of London in the time of the Fifth Harry, whose midnight rambles to the Boar in Eastcheap, and other places in the city, of gay carousal, may probably have been the accidental means of leading him to the discovery of this important convenience.

LONDON APPRENTICES.

In the reign of Henry IV. a statute was passed, declaring, " that no person whatever not possessed of land, to the annual amount of 20s., should be at liberty to put out a child or children, as apprentice to any trade ;" and the tradesman taking such unqualified person an apprentice to any trade, was subjected to a heavy penalty. The citizens of London were among the first to feel the injustice of such an exclusion, and, during the protectorate of the Duke of Bedford, they succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the statute.

In Strype's Stow, we are informed, that a young gentleman, whose father had been an apprentice in London, but of a good family, was insulted in company, from an idea that he was not born a gentleman, because the father's apprenticeship had corrupted his blood. The father was determined to have the matter investigated. For this purpose, he employed Philpot, the herald, to give his opinion on the subject; when the latter, in a work called " The City Advocate," decided, " that an apprentice in London is no dishonour nor degradation, but rather an honour and a degree; and that it is very foolish to debase honest industry with disgraceful censure, and unjust not to encourage it with praise and virtue, as the ancient policy of England did and doth in constituting corporations, and adorning the companies with banners of arms, and especial members thereof with notes of nobility." The Garter at Arms, too, in a certificate of approbation appended to this work, de-

clared, that he saw nothing in it "dissonant to reason, or contrary to honour or arms."

In more modern times, not only the occupation, but even the word apprentice, has been obnoxious to those who were unwilling to admit Pope's maxim, that

"Honour and fame from no condition rise."

Even Daines Barington, who might have been expected to be superior to such prejudices, used to feel hurt at the term "apprentice of the law," as derogatory to the dignity of the liberal profession. The learned gentleman seemed to forget or misunderstand, that the word apprentice (from *apprendre*) means a learner, and that an apprentice of the law is, in other terms, neither more nor less, than a student at law. Thus Ben Jonson, in his comedy of the "Magnetic Lady, or Humours reconcil'd," says :

"He speaks like Mr. Prentice, one that is
The child of the profession he is bound to,
And servant to the study he hath taken,
A pure apprentice at law."

The apprentice at law was, however, a counsellor, the next in rank under a sergeant, though Ben Jonson here gives him the technical character of a sergeant, who was called *Serviens ad legem*.

The London apprentices were of old remarkable for their *esprit de corps*, and became, by means of it, an important, and, on some occasions, a very formidable class of citizens. They had an arm ready for any cause which they supposed required their interference, and he must have possessed an uncommon

degree of hardihood, who, two or three centuries ago, dared to insult one of the body. The great Scottish novelist has, in one of his latest productions, (the *Fortunes of Nigel*) turned the courage and strong fellow-feeling of the London apprentice to good account; and well observed, that the words "prentices! prentices! clubs! clubs!" was sufficient to make the whole of that numerous body relinquish their avocations, however important, and fly to the spot where their presence seemed wanted. We have already seen this strikingly exemplified in the treatment given to foreigners, who have always had their most inveterate enemies in the apprentices, with whose apprenticeship rights they were supposed most directly to interfere.

In legislative enactments we often find the apprentices of London particularly mentioned, and in all cases of emergency they were considered of sufficient importance to merit special notice.

At the end of the year 1642, they presented a petition to King Charles I., praying him to join with the commons in rooting out papists, as well as innovators and bishops, whom they charged with having combined to subvert the government and introduce popery. Not receiving an immediate answer, the apprentices, two days after, assembled in great numbers, and were proceeding to Whitehall for an answer to their petition, when the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gurney, waited on the king, and represented to his majesty, that in order to appease the apprentices, it would be necessary to dismiss Colonel Lunsford from the Lieutenantancy of the Tower, as he had become unpopular. To this the king acceded; but on the fol-

lowing day the apprentices again assembled in Westminster, crying aloud, "no bishops, no bishops." The Bishop of Lincoln, on his way to the house of lords with the Earl of Dover, observing a young apprentice particularly vociferous against the bishops, stepped forward and seized him. The rest of the apprentices however soon rescued the youth, and crowding round the bishop nearly pressed him to death. This mob is remarkable for having first given the name of *round heads* to a party. The apprentices at this time, in contradiction to others, wore their hair cut round : the queen observing, out of a window, one Samuel Barnardiston, among them, exclaimed, "see, what a handsome young round head is there ;" and hence arose the name of *round heads*.

Shortly after this event, when the parliament wished to recruit the Earl of Essex's army, it was ordained, that such apprentices as should enlist for soldiers, should reckon the time spent in the wars as part of their apprenticeship ; a privilege so seductive, that great numbers of the London apprentices entered into the service of parliament.

During the whole of the unhappy struggle between King Charles and his parliament, the apprentices of London took a prominent part, and in 1647 joined in the "solemn league and covenant," into which the citizens of London, trainbands, &c. entered "for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the kingdom, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

The time of working was of old regulated by Bow Bells ; but not always, as the apprentices conceived,

with a due regard to the sacredness of those hours appropriated by common consent to mirth and recreation. They resolved, therefore, to give the clerk an admonitory hint on the subject, and, with this view, affixed the following pasquinade to the walls of the church :

Clerk of the Bow Bell,
With the yellow locks,
For thy late ringing,
Thy head shall have knocks.

The clerk, sensible of the danger he run from these dispensers of club law, wrote for answer, in equally good poetry :

Children of Cheap,
Hold you all still,
For you shall have the
Bow Bells ring at your will.

In the reign of Elizabeth, when the dresses of the people were such as to provoke legislative interference, the London apprentices appear to have figured high in the scale of extravagance. There is a regulatory act of the common council on the subject, dated in 1582, from the prohibitions in which we learn, that it was nothing strange to see a London apprentice with a silken hat ; a ruff at the collar, of more than a yard and a half long ; a doublet, trimmed with gold and silver ; breeches stitched, laced, and bordered ; an upper coat, curiously wrought and embroidered ; a surtout of velvet, lined with silk ; a sword by his side, and a ring on his bachelor's finger ! It is not to be supposed, that the young men were encouraged

in such vanities by their masters. The same act of council discloses a practice, which we suspect has survived even the lapse of centuries ; it ordains, that no apprentice shall “ keep any chest, press, or other place, for keeping of apparel or goods, *but in his master’s house.*” The penalties attached to the disobedience of these orders were, punishment, at the discretion of the master, for the first offence ; public whipping at the hall of the company, for a second ; and six months’ longer service than specified in the indenture, for a third offence.

SUPPLY OF WATER.

Nothing has contributed so essentially towards preserving the health of the inhabitants of London from disease, or their property from conflagration, as the abundant supply of water with which every street, and even every house, is furnished. [This is an advantage not possessed to the same extent in any of the continental cities. Even Paris, which, of late years, has much improved in every thing relating to elegance or convenience, has no other supply of water than what men carry about the streets ; for, although some bold speculators in London offered to establish a water company in Paris, the proposal was rejected.

Before London had become extensive, it was watered by several small brooks, independent of the Thames. One of these, which was successively called the river of Wells, Turninill Brook, and the river Fleete, or Fleet Ditch, ran from Bagnigge

Wells, through Clerkenwell, between Saffron-hill and Turnmill-street, under Holborn-bridge, and down Fleet-market into the Thames. It was once very considerable, turned a great number of mills in its course, and must have been navigable from the Thames to Holborn at the least; for in a parliament, held at Carlisle in 1307, the Earl of Lincoln complained, that "whereas, in times past, the course of water running at London under Oldbourn-bridge and Fleet-bridge into the Thames, had been of such breadth and depth, that ten or twelve ships' navies at once, with merchandizes, were wont to come to the aforesaid bridge of Fleet, and some of them to Oldbourn-bridge; now the same course, by filth of the tanners and such others, was sore decayed." Tradition would carry the navigation much higher, since it relates, that an anchor was found in this river at Pancras-wash, where the road branches off to Somer's-town. This river is now, by rapid rains or sudden thaws, sometimes much overflowed, as was the case in 1809 and 1817-18.

Another small river, called Wallbrook, from the wall thrown over it, ran through the city in a serpentine direction, from the north down by the present Mansion-house, and the street now called Wallbrook, into the Thames. This brook, which was necessarily crossed by numerous bridges, was vaulted over with brick, and in many parts covered with houses.

A third rivulet, which was called Langbourn, on account of its length, originated in an overflowing spring in Fenchurch-street, which ran down Lombard-street, and turned south down Sherborne-lane (then called Sharebourne, from its sharing or dividing the

bourne or brook into small rills of water), whence it flowed into the Thames. This brook was stopped at its source, though its name is still retained in Langbourn-ward.

Oldbourn, now Holborn, was a brook which issued from a spring near Middle-row, and ran down at Holborn-bridge, into the river Fleet.

In the suburbs of the city there were several very excellent wells, as Holywell, Skinner's-well, Clement's-well; Clerkenwell, so called from the parish-clerks of London assembling there annually to act plays or interludes, founded on Scripture, with several other smaller wells. To the wells and the brooks are to be added pools, which, though not contributing to the health of the city, supplied water for various uses. Of these, the principal was in Smithfield, and was called Horsepool, on account of the inhabitants watering horses there. This pool, which was, at one time, walled round with brick, was filled up in the improvements that took place in Smithfield after the fire of London. Near St. Giles's church, Cripple-gate, there was a large pool, in which Anne of Lodbury was drowned in the year 1244. North of Holywell, there was a pool, called Agnes le Clair; and not far from it, another sheet of water, which was called Perilous Pond, on account of several youths who went to swim in it, having been drowned. This Perilous Pond has since been converted into a bath, under the name of Peerless Pool.

When the increase of buildings occasioned the brooks to be covered, and the pools to be filled up, the inhabitants, who were proportionably augmented, found it necessary to look to other sources, for a sup-

ply of water. In 1236, one Gilbert Sandford obtained a grant from Henry III., to allow him to convey water from the town of Tyburn, by pipes of lead, into the city. The work was soon carried into effect, and a leaden pipe, of six inches bore, conveyed the water, from six wells in the neighbourhood of Tyburn, to conduits, that were erected to receive it in various parts of the city. The first, and one of the principal conduits, was in West Cheap, now Cheapside, and was erected in 1285 : it was a cistern of lead, castellated with stone. Other conduits and *bosses* were erected in several parts of the town.

In 1438, Sir William Eastfield, Knight of the Bath, then lord-mayor, brought water from Highbury-barn, as well as from Tyburn, to London, and caused conduits to be erected in Fleet-street, Aldermanbury, and Cripplegate.

In 1535, the common council granted a sum of money for bringing water from Hackney to Aldgate, where a conduit was erected ; and this being insufficient, fresh supplies were afterwards obtained from St. Mary-le-bourn, Hackney, Hampstead-heath, Muswell-hill, &c. One of the principal conduits was between Snow-hill and Holborn, and was built, or rather rebuilt, by William Lambe, a gentleman of the chapel to King Henry the Eighth, in 1577, at an expense of 1500*l*. This conduit was supplied from another, erected by the same gentleman at the north end of Red Lion-street, called Lambe's Conduit.

The conduits were formerly visited and inspected, with great ceremony, by the lord-mayor and corporation. Strype relates, that on the 18th of September, 1562, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and many

worshipful persons, after inspecting the conduit heads, hunted a hare, which they killed, and then proceeded to a dinner at the head of the conduit, where they were handsomely entertained by the chamberlain. After dinner, they went to hunt the fox: "there was," says he, "a great cry for a mile, and, at length, the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles's, with great hallowing and blowing of horns at his death."

Notwithstanding the number of conduits was considerable, they were found insufficient, and many citizens were obliged to fetch their water from the Thames. In those times, persons were regularly employed to convey water from the river, or the conduits, to the houses, which they did in vessels, called tankards, that held about three gallons. They were hooped round, like a pail, and were, in figure, like the frustrum of a cone. They had a small iron handle at the upper end, like an alehouse pot, and, being fitted with a bung or stopple, were easily portable. These water-bearers and their tankards are alluded to in Ben Jonson's comedy of "Every Man in his Humour."

In the year 1582, one Peter Maurice, a German, proposed to supply the city with water by means of machinery. In order to prove his skill, Maurice made an experiment before the lord-mayor and aldermen, by throwing the water over the steeple of St. Magnus's church, with which they were so much pleased, that they granted him the use of the Thames water, and one arch of London-bridge, on lease for five hundred years, on condition of paying ten shillings yearly to the city. He then erected his water-works on the

north side of the river, and finding that he had not room enough, he procured, two years afterwards, the grant of another arch of the bridge for a similar term. By these works, which supplied a considerable portion of the east of the city, Maurice and his descendants made a large fortune. In the year 1701, the proprietor sold his right in the London-bridge water-works for 38,000*l.* to Richard Soams; who, obtaining a renewal of the leases from the city, and the liberty of occupying two more arches of the bridge, divided the property into 300 shares of 500*l.* each, an operation, by which he made a clear profit of above 100,000*l.*

During the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. acts of parliament were granted for the better supplying of the metropolis with water, but they were not carried into effect, until Mr. Hugh Middleton, a native of Denbigh, and goldsmith of London, undertook to bring the water from Chadwell and Amwell, near Ware, in Hertfordshire, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. The work was begun on the 28th of February, 1608, and concluded in five years. The course of the river extends about thirty-nine miles, being in a serpentine direction, and there are upwards of two hundred bridges over it. The great reservoir, called the New River-head, is at Islington, into which the water was first let in, on Michaelmas day 1613, the day on which Sir Thomas Middleton, the brother of Sir Hugh, was elected mayor. On the opening of the bason, the lord-mayor, the lord-mayor elect, the aldermen, &c. rode to see it; when a company of sixty labourers, well and uniformly clothed, preceded by drums, and accoutred with spades,

shovels, and pick-axes, marched twice or thrice round the cistern, and then presented themselves before the visitors, when one of the workmen delivered an address, written for the occasion, which thus concluded :

“ Now for the fruits ; then flow forth, precious spring,
So long and dearly sought for, and now bring
Comfort to all that love thee ! Loudly sing,
And with thy crystal murmurs struck together,
Bid all thy true well-wishers welcome hither.”

At the conclusion of these words “ the flood-gate flew open, and the stream ran swiftly into the cistern, with drums and trumpets sounding, and guns firing in a triumphant manner.”

The main pipes of the New River company were originally of wood, but they are now almost entirely of cast iron. A large bason has been constructed in the Hampstead-road, which receives its water from Islington, in order to supply the western parts of the town. The number of houses supplied by the New River is upwards of fifty-six thousand, which is continually increasing, particularly since the water-works have been recently taken down at London-bridge.

The New River was long an unprofitable speculation, and for nineteen years after it was finished, the seventy-two shares, into which it was divided, did not yield a profit of more than twelve shillings each. These shares, in the course of time, were sold as high as 14,000*l.* each ; and although, at the present moment, they are unproductive, in consequence of the great expense incurred in substituting iron for wooden pipes, yet they are considered very valuable.

As for the projector of this great work, his only re-

ward was a ruined fortune, and a barren title. Mr. Middleton was created a baronet, and there is an entry in one of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, stating, that the fees of the creation were to be remitted to him.

There are several other water companies in London and its suburbs, the relative importance of which will be seen from the quantity of water supplied by each, which we are enabled to collect from the evidence adduced before a committee of the house of commons in 1821.

In 1808 and 1809, the New River, on an average of the two years, supplied London with 78,110,000 hogsheads, or 4217,940,000 gallons of water annually, to 59,058 houses and buildings, occupied by 42,960 tenants, who paid an annual rental to the company of 80,782*l*. In 1820, the New River, including the York-building water-works, established in the reign of Charles II., supplied 67,000,000 hogsheads to 52,082 houses and 38,535 tenants, on a rental of 68,297*l*.

In the same year, the Chelsea water-works, which were formed in 1721, supplied 7,533,900 hogsheads; the London-bridge works, 26,322,705; the East London works, 29,516,333; the Grand Junction water-company, 13,104,000; and the West Middlesex works, 11,904,100. These form an aggregate, in the year 1820, of 155,381,038 hogsheads of water, supplied to 120,732 houses, and yielding a rental of 175,890*l*. annually. So effective is the machinery of these water-works, that they can force water into the rooms of every house, to the height of a hundred feet, if required.

PAGEANTS.

The English people in general, but, above all others, the citizens of London, have been fond of pageants and processions; but, alas! of all those splendid scenes which figure in history, there is now no remains, save the lord-mayor's show, and even this is gradually sinking into neglect. It is true, the visit of the sovereign to the city may cause the streets to be lined with soldiers, and the pavement to be strewed with gravel, but here the preparations for the royal reception (a princely banquet excepted) terminate; formerly, triumphal arches were raised across the path, and the streets were hung with tapestry. Leland, describing the entrance into the city of Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII., says: "Al the strets thro' whiche she shulde passe by wer clenly dressed and besene with cloth of tapestrye and arras, and some streetes, as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes, and silkes."

Two of the principal pageants in London, in former times, were those of Edward the First, on account of his victory over the Scots; and of his son, the Black Prince, when he made his entry into London, with John King of France a prisoner. In the last instance, so delicate were the attentions of the prince and the citizens, that all the pomp that was displayed seemed as if intended only to honour the captive monarch. In the streets, as he passed to Westminster, the citizens hung out their armour, their vessels of gold and silver, and their tapestries of Tyrian dye, bedecked with silken streamers of every hue. "The like," says Barnes, "had never been seen before in the

memory of man." When they made their entry into London, the King of France was mounted on a stately white charger, adorned with costly trappings, while the prince rode on a black palfrey by his side. The procession was received by the lord mayor, and other members of the corporation, with all the respect which they were in use to pay to their own monarchs.

Richard the Second passed through Cheapside in a splendid procession, after the citizens, in order to recover their charter, had submitted to his tyranny. After the battle of Agincourt, Henry the Fifth had a triumphal entry, as had Henry the Seventh after the battle of Bosworth Field; when, says an article in the Lansdowne MS. vol. 251, he "with great pomp and triumph rode through the city of London to the cathedral church of St. Paul, where he offered his three standards: in the one was the image of St. George; in the second was a red fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarsnet; the third was a yellow tarterne, in which was printed a dun-cow; and after prayers and *Te Deum* was sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season."

The reign of Henry VIII. was particularly distinguished for city pageants and processions; and if the sober part of society were shocked by the way in which the tyrant got rid of his wives, the more frivolous found a momentary gratification in his marriages and coronations. Even so far was the fondness for spectacle carried, that it extended itself to the regulation of the city watch: a grand cavalcade, which was called the "marching" of the city watch,

war exhibited twice a year—on the eve of St. John the Baptist, and on that of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Elizabeth was excessively fond of pomp and show, and the good citizens of London seem to have been aware of this; for, on her accession to the throne, they paid her the complement of a city pageant. The day before her coronation, she rode through the city of Westminster in great state, amidst a grand display of pageantry and expensive magnificence. In Cheapside, the recorder presented her with a purse of crimson velvet, containing a thousand marks in gold, as a token of the city's loyalty and affection. The queen returned thanks, and told her loving citizens, that, should occasion require, she would be found ready to spill her blood for their safety. At another stage of her progress, a beautiful boy, intended to represent truth, was lowered from a triumphal arch, and presented her with a copy of the Bible. The queen received this with the most engaging condescension, treasured the precious gift in her bosom, and declared, that "this gift she considered as the most precious, as it was to her of all others the most acceptable."

TOURNAMENTS.

We have already noticed the amusements of the citizens of London; the metropolis, however, in former times was the scene of other exercises, called jousts or tournaments, which can scarcely be classed among the sports and pastimes, since they were, as one of the French monarchs well observed, "too much for jest, and too little for earnest." Tournament

or military combats were a distinguishing feature in the chivalry of our ancestors, and during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, formed a splendid part of the pageantry of the British metropolis. On the death of our maiden queen, the known aversion of James I. to a naked sword was sufficient to throw tilts and tournaments into disuse; and the reign of his successors was occupied in a more serious exercise of arms.

The principal scene of the tournaments in London was originally the *Tilt-yard* at Whitehall, but afterwards Smithfield, to which place, on the appointed days, the knights usually proceeded from the Tower, along *Knightrider-street* and *Giltspur-street*. Cheapside, the Tower, and London-bridge, were, however, sometimes selected for these chivalrous enterprises.

In the year 1329, a tournament was held in Cheapside, where a scaffold was erected for the queen and other ladies, The jousting continued three days, on one of which the scaffold fell, and with it the queen and several of her suite, all of whom, however, escaped unhurt. The king threatened the builders with severe punishment; but, through the intercession of the queen, who pleaded for them on her knees, they were pardoned.

The reign of Edward III. was particularly distinguished by those exercises which were most consonant to the feelings of a brave warrior. When he had the monarchs of France and Scotland captive, he frequently amused them with tournaments, particularly in the years 1357, 1362, and 1374, which were attended by the captive monarchs, the king and queen, and the flower of English chivalry. This

sovereign, when in his dotage, sought to gratify his mistress, Alice Pierce, by a tournament in the year 1374. This lady, who assumed the appellation of "Lady of the sun," appeared by the king's side in a triumphal chariot, most splendidly attired, and accompanied by a great number of ladies of rank, each of whom led a knight on horseback by the bridle. The procession set out from the Tower, and was attended by the principal nobility to Smithfield, where the justs, or tournaments, were continued for seven successive days.

A more celebrated tournament took place in 1390, during the reign of Richard II., who, with that magnificence and gallantry which distinguished the early part of his reign, cherished a warlike and generous spirit in the nobility and gentry of his court. The tournament was fixed to be held on the Sunday after Michaelmas, and the king previously sent heralds to proclaim it in all the principal courts of Europe. Several sovereigns accepted the summons, and on the day appointed, the champions, riding on sixty couriers, set out from the Tower to Smithfield; each knight was accompanied by an esquire, and led by a lady riding on a palfrey, who, with gold chains, conducted them to the place of combat. The king and queen had taken their station in chambers to see the justs, which continued for several days. On this occasion, the king kept open house at the palace of the Bishop of London, for persons of all ranks, and every night was concluded with a ball.

The chivalrous exercises of Richard II.'s court induced some Scottish lords to come to England, "to get worship by force of arms." One of these, the

Earl of Mar, challenged the Earl of Nottingham to just with him, in 1393, when, after they had run a few courses, the Scotch earl was overthrown, by which he was so much injured, that he died two days afterwards. Sir William Dalzell, the banner bearer of the king of Scotland, was more successful in a rencontre with Sir Piercy Courtney, who held the same office to the King of England, for, after running several courses, they relinquished the contest without any manifest superiority or advantage. A Scottish gentleman, of the name of Cockburne, next entered the lists against Sir Nicholas Hauberke, and, after maintaining the combat for five courses, was overthrown.

In the year 1409, a royal justing took place in Smithfield between the Earl of Somerset and other knights, against the Seneschal of Henault and some Frenchmen.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry the Fifth, a foreign knight, a native of Aragon, who had distinguished himself on the continent by various feats of arms, visited England, and threw down the glove to the English warriors. The challenge was accepted by Robert Carey, the son of Sir John Carey, who had been chief baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Richard II., and forfeited his estate for his attachment to that monarch. The combat was long and doubtful, but the Englishman at length prevailed, and was rewarded with the honour of knighthood by the king, and the restoration of his father's forfeited estates.

It was one of the laws of heraldry, that the person who conquered his adversary fairly in the field was

entitled to assume his arms; and this right was claimed by Robert Carey, who took the coat armour of the Aragonese, which has since been borne by the family.

In the year 1442, another knight of Aragon, Sir Philip le Beause, engaged in single combat with John Ansley, an esquire of the king's household, in which the former was defeated, and would have been slain, but for the interposition of the king.

The Bastard of Burgundy coming over in 1467 to the British court, to solicit the hand of the king's sister for his brother, Charles Duke of Burgundy, wished to prove the claim of his family to such an alliance, by some feat of arms. He therefore challenged Lord Scales, the brother of the queen, and a day was fixed for the combat. Lists were prepared in Smithfield, with costly galleries for the king and his court, and for the ladies, whose presence usually animated the combatants on such occasions.

On the first day they fought on foot with spears, without any manifest advantage. The next day they engaged on horseback, when the Bastard's horse being thrown, the king ordered the fight to be discontinued. On the third day, they again engaged on foot with pole axes, and fought valiantly, until the point of Lord Scales's axe entered the helmet of his antagonist, by which he could easily have thrown him to the ground; but the king, at this moment, threw down his warder, which was the usual signal for discontinuing the combat. The Bastard wished to renew the contest, but being informed, that according to the usage of arms, on such occasions, he must be placed in the same situation in which he

stood when the advantage was with his adversary, he did not press the prosecution of his challenge.

In 1501, there was a royal tourney and jousting within the Tower; and in 1540, Westminster was the scene of "a great triumph of jousting," which lasted five days. During the whole of this time, Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knights; Richard Cromwell (ancestor of the protector), and Anthony Kingston, Esqs. kept "open household" at Durham-place, and entertained their majesties and the whole court, together with the knights and burgesses of parliament, the lord-mayor and aldermen, together with their wives.

On the first three days of May, 1571, a tournament was held before the queen in Westminster, in which the Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton, Esq. were the challengers, but it was not attended with any particular circumstances. These exercises appear to have been congenial to the martial spirit of Elizabeth, who frequently attended them. In January, 1581, a great jousting was held at Westminster before the queen, when several persons were killed by the falling of a scaffold. In May following, another splendid tournament was held at the same place, in honour of the French envoys, who had been sent to England to settle the terms of the queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou; and another tournament, in the reign of her majesty, was held in 1599. On the death of Elizabeth, the tournaments were no longer encouraged, although one was held at the Tilt-yard, Westminster, in 1610, in honour of the young prince

Henry's being created a knight. With this instance, which was not a very splendid one, the tournaments ceased to be a London spectacle.

WAT TYLER'S INSURRECTION.

The poll tax, when first imposed by the parliament of Richard II., was levied with a due consideration to the means of the parties. The tax was three groats on every person, male and female, above the age of fifteen; and it was enacted, that in raising the tax the rich should assist the poor. The tax, not being so productive as was expected, was farmed out to some Flemings, who exacted it with great rigour; and the clause, which enjoined the rich to assist the poor, was so vague and undetermined, that the latter could gain no advantage from it.

The oppressions excited by this tax at length became so severe, that a general discontent became engendered in the southern counties, which was considerably increased by the fanatic preaching of John Ball, the Anacharsis Cloots of the fourteenth century, who expatiated on the origin of mankind from one common stock, and their right to an equal share in all the goods and produce of nature. Ball was very active in Kent and Essex, where he made many converts. He had a favourite traditional distich, which was the text for many a sermon;

“ When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman ?

The question, not being easy to answer, was quite satisfactory evidence to the lower orders, that Ball was

right in seeking to level all distinctions of rank and property, and in endeavouring to reduce the world to a perfect equality. While the minds of the people were thus inflamed and irritated, one of the collectors offered a gross insult to the daughter of a blacksmith in Kent (some historians say Dartford, others Deptford), which the latter, with the feelings of a father, unrestrained by any other consideration, so highly resented, as to knock out the ruffian's brain with his hammer. This blacksmith, who was afterwards known by the name of Wat Tyler, was instantly supported by his neighbours, who promised to stand by him. They immediately had recourse to arms—the flame spread throughout the country, and soon extended into the counties of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and even Lincoln. The poll tax was, however, not the only obnoxious measure which gave offence; the people had to complain of other grievances, particularly the negligence of the government in not protecting them from frequent incursions by the French. The extortions of the judges and agents of law, the tyranny of the nobles in the exercise of their feudal privileges, and a particular dislike to the Duke of Lancaster, to whom they imputed all these evils, swelled the ranks of the seditious; so that in a very short time Wat Tyler, though without extraordinary talents, and naturally without ambition, and destitute of any influence, save that which a single incident had given him, was at the head of 100,000 men.

The abolition of the poll tax was now no longer their only object; they aimed at a total subversion of the government, and marched forward to London,

breathing vengeance against the nobility and the members of the legal profession. The public gaols, which were opened, added to the rebel army, now so numerous, some men of a determined character, and with talents well calculated for keeping alive the flame of rebellion, which had been so successfully kindled. Among those gaol recruits was the famous John Ball, the priest, who now became chaplain-general to the army. Wat Tyler had for associates several other daring men, who, making a merit of their humble occupations, assumed the fictitious names of Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller.

In their route to London, they committed many excesses, putting to death several peers and gentlemen, and every lawyer that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. In their hostility to the Duke of Lancaster, they bound themselves by an oath, never to acknowledge for king any man whose name was John.

When the rebels arrived at Blackheath, the Princess of Wales, the king's mother, who was returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of their encampment. The rebels permitted her to proceed on her journey, though some of the most insolent of them obliged her to kiss them, and maltreated her retinue.

The rebels now sent a deputation to the king, who had taken refuge in the Tower, and desired to have an interview with him. For this purpose Richard sailed down the river in his barge; but, on approaching the shore, and witnessing many instances of tumult and confusion, he did not think proper to land, but returned to the Tower. The king then sent to know the ob-

ject of their assembling, and what it was they asked. Wat Tyler was reviewing his army when the king's messenger arrived, and, confident in the numbers of the men he saw marshalled before him, he sent back an insolent message, stating, that their business was of such importance as only to be communicated to the king, whom they desired to meet them. This request having been refused, agreeably to the determination of the king's council, the rebels marched towards London, and were soon masters of Southwark, which they plundered. London bridge might have offered some obstruction to their progress; but the mob, on the city side, opened the gates in spite of the magistrates, and Wat Tyler and his army entered the city, where they committed the most wanton excesses. The Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace, the Temple, the hospital of St. John's, Cherkenwell, and the houses of the judges and principal citizens (but more particularly those of the Flemings) were razed to the ground. Against the Flemings their rage was unbounded: they dragged them from the churches where they had taken sanctuary, and massacred them in the open streets.

Plunder, the usual attendant of public tumult, was repressed, as much as possible, by the leaders of the insurrection, who even threw into the fire, amongst a heap of burning wealth, one of their followers, who endeavoured to secure a piece of plate.

The rebels now approached the Tower, where the king, with his mother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, and several of the nobility had taken refuge. Richard sent word, that he would give

them a meeting on Mile-End Green, and thither a large body of them, chiefly of the Essex party, accordingly repaired. As he was about to leave the Tower, however, a chosen band of Wat Tyler's followers rushed into the fortress, cut off the heads of the Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Hales, and the Chancellor, and pillaged the royal apartments.

Wat Tyler remained near the Tower at the head of thirty thousand men. Consternation now seized on the government, and after some discussion, it was deemed advisable to offer the rebels a charter; not, however, confirming the privileges of the people, or redressing their grievances, but abolishing villainage, and offering a general pardon for all crimes committed during the insurrection. This charter, which was dated the 15th of June, was in the following terms:—

“ Richard, &c. Know ye, That of our special grace, we have manmitted or set free all and singular our liege subjects, and others of the county of Essex; and them and every of them from all bondage do release and acquit, by these presents. And also we pardon to our said liege men and subjects, all manner of felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extortions by them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever done or committed.”

Armed with this charter, the young king proceeded to Mile-End, where his offers were accepted by the Essex men, who immediately dispersed to their homes.

The success which had here crowned the efforts

of Richard, induced him to attempt a negotiation with the principal rebel leader, Wat Tyler. For this purpose he repaired to Smithfield, with a few attendants, and sent Sir John Newton to desire Wat Tyler to meet him. Wat Tyler would only, however, attend at the head of his troops. When entering Smithfield, he was met by the same knight, with another message from the king, but the bearer delivering it without dismounting from his horse, so offended the dignity of Wat Tyler, that he raised his sword to strike him down. The king, however, interposed, and cried out to Sir John to dismount.

In the conference that ensued, Wat Tyler demanded much more than had been yielded to his fellow insurgents. Besides a general enfranchisement of bondmen, he required that all warrens, parks, and chases should be made free and common to all, so that the poor, as well as the rich, should have liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt in all places throughout the kingdom. It is, however, worthy of remark, that none of the rebels asked for the slightest modification of the poll tax, the grievance in which the insurrection had originated.

The insolence of Wat Tyler, who is said, during the conference, to have frequently raised his sword, did not provoke the resentment of the king ; but it so roused the indignation of the lord mayor, William Walworth, that, with a sword or dagger, he struck the rebel dead at his feet. When the rebels saw their leader fall, they vowed to avenge his death, and had already drawn their bows against the king and his attendants ; but Richard, though then not fifteen

years of age, with great resolution and presence of mind called out to the rebels, that they should not want a leader, for that he would become their general. He then placed himself at their head, and rode towards St. George's Fields, and the rebels, imagining that the king had declared in their favour, followed him. When they arrived in St. George's Fields, a body of a thousand horse, consisting chiefly of the higher order of London citizens, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, were seen approaching: a panic seized on the rebels, they threw down their arms, and fled in all directions. Richard immediately knighted on the field the lord-mayor, Walworth, and several of the aldermen, for their important services at this difficult crisis.

Thus terminated one of the most extraordinary and most formidable insurrections that London ever witnessed. Like most other popular commotions, it presented instances of private revenge, more striking than those of public feeling, and that too, in two of the most prominent characters who figured in it, Wat Tyler and Sir William Walworth. The former had been in the service of Richard Lions, an eminent wine merchant, and sheriff of London, who had inflicted personal chastisement upon him. When the rebel chief reached London, he caused his old master to be beheaded, and his head carried before him on the point of a spear, though it is, perhaps, too much to charge this act on Wat Tyler's resentment, since to be rich was a sufficient crime to insure the punishment. As for Sir William Walworth, whose name is perpetuated in a populous suburb, his loyalty is, perhaps, as questionable as Wat Tyler's patriotism. He

was a principal sufferer by the insurrection, which had levelled to the ground a number of tenements which this citizen possessed on the bank side, and which were let out for the very worst of purposes. It is not too much, therefore, to suspect, that private feeling may have prompted his activity to put down the rebellion, and punish its leader.

JACK CADE'S REBELLION.

Shakespeare, who "exhausted worlds and then imagined new," has rendered the insurrection of Jack Cade better known in the second part of his play of Henry VI., than it would have been had it been recorded only in history. With that license, which to poets is never denied, he has turned into ridicule an event, which occasioned no ordinary degree of alarm at the time, and has, by the extravagancies which he makes its leaders commit, thrown a discredit on popular insurrections, from which it is difficult to divest them. Not content with demolishing public buildings, and the houses of the wealthy, our bard makes Jack anxious to burn all the records of the realm, that his mouth may be "the parliament of England." Denying that

—————"ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven,"

Cade is represented as having a particular enmity to learning. He makes it one of his most serious charges against Lord Say and Sele, that he had

“ most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school,” and adds this more sweeping accusation: “ whereas before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally; thou hast caused printing to be used, and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee, that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure.”

The insurrection of Jack Cade took place in 1450, during the long, but inglorious, and turbulent reign of Henry VI. Whatever designs Jack Cade might have had after striking his sword on London stone, and exclaiming, “ now is Mortimer lord of this city,” he was, in the first instance, only the tool of others. The struggles of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, though not terminated, had a momentary cessation, when Richard, Duke of York, (whose son succeeded to the throne, under the title of Edward IV.) aspired to the crown. He was, at this time, in Ireland, and although the disasters of the government, in the loss of Normandy, had increased the number of his adherents, yet he did not cluse himself to hazard an attempt to seize the crown. He enlisted Jack Cade, a daring Irishman, in his service, who, well supplied with money, and assuming the name of John Mortimer, of the house of March, executed in the early part of the reign, proceeded to Kent, where the duke had many friends. Here, in May, 1450, he hoisted the standard of insurrection, which was soon so numerously attended, that Jack Cade was strong enough to beard the city, and encamp as near it as Black-

heath. Cade's insurrection appearing formidable, the king sent to know the wishes of the insurgents. Their leader answered, that they had no ill design on the king's person—that their intention was to petition parliament, that the evil ministers might be punished, as being the principal authors of the loss of Normandy. In a few days afterwards they presented their petition, which was to the same effect; and also demanded, that the king's council should be filled with princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious persons, and not with profligate men of vicious principles and manners, incapable of managing the affairs of state.

These petitions were rejected, and the king, determining to put down the insurrection by force of arms, assembled a body of 15000 men, with which he marched against them. On his approach Jack Cade retired, and lay in ambush in a wood near Sevenoaks. The king imagining the rebels were dispersed, sent a detachment after them, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford. This detachment falling into the ambush was cut to pieces, and the commander, as well as his brother, killed.

Cade now marched towards London, while the king and his court hastily fled to Kenilworth, leaving a garrison in the Tower, under the command of Lord Scales. The city of London opened her gates to the rebels, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops; but he prohibited, under the severest penalties, any injury being done to the inhabitants. He did not, however, take up his residence in the city, but in the Borough of Southwark. On the second day he seized on the lord treasurer, Lord Say,

THE BASTARD FALCONBRIDGE'S ATTACK.

————— eldest son,
 As we suppose, to Robert Falconbridge,
 A soldier by the honour-giving hand
 Of Cœur de Lion, knighted in the field,

"The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city,

Even till unfenced desolation
Should leave them naked as the air."

Falconbridge, however, found the "saucy walls" of London too much even for his "heavy hand."

The citizens flew to arms in great numbers, and defended themselves gallantly. The bastard made his first attack by the river side of the city, which, in consequence of the ruin into which the walls in that direction had been suffered to fall, presented the least chance of resistance; but he found so many stout hearts arrayed in defence of every breach, that all his attempts to effect an entrance on this side were unavailing. After firing some houses on London Bridge, he returned down the river, and, at some distance below the Tower, landed his forces, amounting to about 5000 men, with the view of attacking the city by land from the eastward. On Sunday, the 11th of May, the assault was made at Aldgate; the bulwarks were won; and the assailants were pushing boldly forward, when the portcullis was let down, and such as had entered the city were cut to pieces. Robert Basset, the alderman of Aldgate Ward, who commanded at this point, animated with a spirit as valiant as that of the bastard himself, was not, however, content with repulsing the enemy; for we are told, that he "commanded, in the name of God, the portcullis to be drawn up; which being done, they issued out, and with fierce fight, drove their enemies back as far as St. Botolph's Church." The Lieutenant of the Tower, observing the success of this spirited sally, issued forth with the Earl of Rivers, at the head of a fresh company, and joining the brave alderman Basset, assisted him to put the enemy completely to the route. The pursuit was continued as far as Stratford; many of the enemy were slain, and many taken prisoners. The bastard escaped, with the wreck of his forces, on board of his ships; and left to London the

honourable boast, of having successfully defended herself against the valour and enterprise of one of the boldest partizans of the day.

RESISTANCE TO ARBITRARY IMPOSTS.

The City of London was never, perhaps, subjected to deeper humiliation than during the reign of Henry VIII., in consequence of the events of Evil May-day; yet we find, that when it had justice and reason on its side, it could assume, even towards that haughty tyrant, an attitude the most erect and independent. In 1521, the king's *alter ego*, Cardinal Wolsey, issued an order, in the king's name, for levying a sixth of all property belonging to laymen, and a fourth of that of the clergy, in order to defray the expense of the war in France and Scotland. The citizens of London declared at once, that they would not submit to such an arbitrary imposition; and their example made the spirit of resistance to it general throughout the country. Henry, afraid of the gathering storm, pretended to disclaim all knowledge of the offensive edict which the cardinal had promulgated, and wrote a letter to the lord mayor and citizens, protesting, that he would permit no forcible exactions from his subjects, but trust as his predecessors had done to their *benevolence* alone.

The cardinal then sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, expatiated on the goodness of the king in substituting a benevolence for a tax, and exhorted them forthwith to raise among themselves, or by their authority, from their fellow citizens, a sum equal to the rate which had been proposed. The words *tax*

and *benevolence* had, however, become already synonymous in popular acceptance ; and the recorder at once manfully replied, “ that, by a statute of the first of Richard III., all such levies were abolished.” Wolsey angrily observed, that Richard was an usurper, and that no laws of his could be obligatory on a lawful prince, such as his highness, their sovereign lord and master. The magistrates continuing silent and unmoved, the cardinal called the lord mayor aside, and endeavoured to persuade him individually to concur in the measure, observing, that it was less the money of the good citizens of London his highness wanted, than their example, by way of a beginning to a general contribution from the whole kingdom, without which the king’s service could not be carried on. The lord mayor prudently replied, that he could do nothing of himself in the matter, but must lay it before the common council, and leave it to their determination. Wolsey called several of the other magistrates to him ; but they made all nearly the same answer. His eminence then dismissed the deputation, bidding them “ go then, and consult the common council.” When the proposal was brought before that body, it was received with so much disgust, that three of the members having ventured to speak in its favour, a motion was made to expel them as unworthy of a place among a council, the representatives of freemen. The nation, which had taken the impulse to resistance from London, followed also its example in refusing any compromise with the principle of extortion ; and the whole scheme of the levy thus fell to the ground.

The citizens had less reason to complain of Henry,

when, following their own example of punishing freemen for differing with them in opinion, he wreaked his vengeance on one of the aldermen for taking a more prominent part than his fellows in this opposition to the pretensions of the crown. The name of this patriot was Richard Reed. He was seized upon by order of Henry, and sent to the seat of war in Scotland, with instructions to Sir Ralph Eure, the English commander, to put him on every sort of dangerous and difficult service, in order that he might "feel what pains other poor soldiers abide abroad in the king's service, and know the smart of his folly and sturdy disobedience." He had not long joined the army, when he was taken prisoner by the Scots, to whom he was obliged to pay a large sum for his ransom.

The instructions to Sir Ralph Eure, respecting Reed, are preserved among the Talbot manuscripts ; and it would seem from them, that the citizens of London, with the single exception of this sturdy alderman, were disposed to grant the benevolence. But allowance must be made for a desire to exaggerate, as much as possible, the offence of Reed ; for such a view of the matter is at variance with all the other histories of the event.

LONDON DIALECT.

The colloquial language of the inhabitants of London has long been the subject of animadversion and satire, and while it must be admitted, that the conversation of the well-educated Londoner approaches nearer the written language of the country, than that

spoken in any other part of the empire ; yet, among those who have not had the advantages of a liberal education, or have mixed much with the humble classes of the citizens, there is a certain peculiarity which distinguishes the London from all other dialects, and which is known by the name of *cockneyism*.

Of the meaning of the word *cockney* few persons are ignorant, but its etymology no one has been yet able to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Our best philologists differ widely on the subject, but the etymology, which seems most probable, derives the word from *cookery*. In France, "le pais de Cogne," means a country of good cheer, and for this London has been always remarkable. Shakspeare, too, in his tragedy of *King Lear*, seems to allude to this interpretation, when he says, "cry to it, nuncle, as the *cockney* did to the eels, when she put them into the paste alive."

Strange, however, as the London dialect may seem, and much as it has been abused, it is the language of our ancestors, which has been here singularly preserved in its original purity ; and, as far as antiquity goes, it is easy to get this sanction to all those, now seeming absurdities, which mark the ordinary language of the metropolis, even to the redundant negatives, double superlatives, and that most singular of all perversions, the substitution of the *v* for the *w*, and *vice versâ*.

Almost every county in England has a peculiar dialect, and some districts speak a language nearly unintelligible. In the colloquial dialect of London there is a mixture of all these, with a variety of words and phrases introduced from abroad ; but notwithstanding this Babel-like confusion of tongues, the great

body of the language is Saxon. The same authority cannot indeed be given for some of its alleged corruptions, which, however, may easily be proved not to have been of modern manufacture.

The transposition of the letters *v* and *w* is the most prominent error of cockney pronunciation, though the exchanging of letters of the same organ of speech is not unfrequent in many languages, particularly the *b* for the *v*. In the province of Gascony, in France, these letters are frequently substituted the one for the other, which caused Joseph Scaliger to say of them, "*felices populi quibus, bibere est vivere.*"

In several of our old authors we find the *v* and the *w* used almost indiscriminately for each other, particularly in the romance of Sir Cleges, written in the 15th century, and in the works of Thomas Skelton, poet laureat to Henry VIII. Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, there is a collection of poems in the handwriting of Skelton, in which we find *lawgh*, *surwaye*, and even *dewowerer*.

The use of redundant negatives is, no doubt, borrowed from the French, whose "*je ne sçai pas*" is equivalent to the cockney's, "I don't know nothing about it." Dr. Hunter, the learned Saxon linguist, however, gives it a greater antiquity, when, in his *Thesaurus*, he says, "*notandum est quod in Linguâ Anglo Saxonica negatis enunciatur per duo negativa.*" The use of the double negative in England can be proved to be of old, and even of royal authority. In a proclamation for the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle, his contumacy, in resisting the offers made to him, is thus stated: "be it knowne, as Sire John Oldcastell refuses, *nor will not* receave, *nor sue* to

have *none* of the graces, &c." Chaucer, Roger Ascham, and even Shakespeare, afford us examples of this error. In *Romeo and Juliet*, we have

" a sudden day of joy
That thou expect'st *not*, nor I look'd *not* for."

The "this here" and "that there" of the London citizens is but the *ce-ci* and *ce-la* of the French, and however unnecessary, is intended to mark the subject distinctly, and with more force and energy. The "ourn" "yourn" of the Londoner, are but the Saxon pronouns possessive, though we cannot say so much in favour of "hisn" and "hern," which are unquestionably "town-made."

Most of the other peculiarities of the London dialect admit of an apology so far, that they are not modern innovations. Even as to the double comparatives and superlatives, Shakespeare has "more better," "more happier," and "more sharper;" and in the *Psalms* we meet with "most highest;" as in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* we do with the "most straitest." The use of the word "learn" for "teach," is derived from the Anglo Saxons. The substituting of the privatives *un* for *in* and *im* is not a new device. Milton uses the words *unactive* and *unsufferable*. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, says, "it is an impossible thing for me to do." And Shakespeare not only has *unpossible*, but "unpartial," "unagreeable," &c. &c. "Shall us" also finds an authority in Shakespeare; and the words "postes" and "postesses" for posts, are pleonasms in imitation of the plurals of the old Scottish writers; even Shakespeare uses the dissyllable "mistes" for mists.

Thus it will be seen, that the cockneys are not chargeable with innovation, but with too partial an adherence to the ancient written language of the country.

SANCTUARIES.

The reverence which all nations, especially in the earlier stages of their history, have shown to their places of religious worship, rendered them of old eminently subservient to the cause of humanity. While the arm of the civil power was yet weak ; while there were individuals potent enough to commit in its defiance the worst of crimes ; such, happily, was the sanctity of the altar, that before it the wildest passions became calmed ; revenge threw its dagger down, and lust shrunk rebuked and ashamed. Within the holy fane the accidental shedder of blood found a secure asylum till the wrath of kindred could be appeased ; to the "horns of the altar" clung the affrighted maiden when, fatherless and brotherless, she had no other protection from the violence of unhallowed passion. For purposes godlike as these, arose the temples of pity among the Greeks and Romans, the cities of refuge among the Jews, and the sanctuaries of the Christians.

The necessity for such asylums vanished with the progress of civilization ; but in the Christian world circumstances of policy arose which prolonged their existence, and even increased their number long after they should have ceased to exist. During the reign of popery, the clergy were not amenable to the juris-

diction of a temporal magistrate ; but, not satisfied with this exemption for themselves, they assumed the right of sheltering, from the civil power, all who chose to place themselves under their protection. The privilege of the sanctuary, which had before been confined to churches, and shrines of saints, became in this way extended to all religious houses whatever. The abuses to which such a system led were enormous.—“ Places which should have cherished the admiration of the most exalted piety, were rendered the sanctuaries of profligacy and vice. Assured of protection, the hardened villain lost the terror of punishment, issued forth to plunder or to ruin the helpless, and, loaded with spoil, he reposed under the veil of the saint to plan the perpetration of new enormities. The authority of the church of Christ spread a shield over men who should have expiated by their lives their crimes against society.”

In 1493, Pope Innocent issued a bull, which, under the pretence of limiting and regulating the privileges of sanctuaries, gave a positive sanction to the worst of the abuses for which they had become notorious. It provided that *thieves, murderers, and highwaymen*, should be protected, but only on condition that they did not go out at night to commit any new robberies or murders ; and that *traitors* might still defy the vengeance of their sovereign, if they kept strictly within the limits of the privileged territory !!!

It was declared, in a spirit somewhat different, that no debtor should be allowed the privilege of sanctuary, for the purpose of *defrauding* his creditors ; but this regulation had no other effect than to make the power of protection a source of greater revenue to the church,

for it was soon discovered that a debtor had only to make an abbot or an archdeacon the trustee or assignee of the wreck of his fortune, in order to preserve his honesty from all impeachment.

With such a system of things, it seems wonderful how society subsisted at all. In London there were, previous to the suppression of religious houses, no less than forty-four principal establishments, all claiming, and most of them exercising, this privilege of sanctuary ! Were such now the case, there is no desert so savage that would not be, in comparison, a place of safety and repose.

In the time of that great reformer, Henry VIII. an act of parliament was passed, confirming the privilege of sanctuary to cathedral, parish, and collegiate churches ; to chapels of ease ; to church yards ; to hospitals ; to eight of the greater monastic establishments, including particularly that of Westminster. The act also wholly excepted from the privilege all persons guilty of capital offences ; and declared that in other cases it should only be of avail for forty days, at the end of which the party who had taken refuge was required either to abide the course of law or quit the realm. It farther provided that no place of sanctuary should shelter more than twenty persons at a time, and that no person thus protected should go abroad without a badge of ignominious distinction on his breast. All these were great strides towards a better order of things ; and it does appear, that with respect to the more serious class of offences, the privilege of sanctuary ceased to be any longer a matter of such grievous complaint.

The abbey of Westminster, which ranks among

the most prominent exceptions in this act, is said to have been the most ancient place of sanctuary in England ; but the earliest charter to this effect which is extant, is one of Edward the Confessor, in which the privilege is thus amply conferred :—" Edward, &c. I make it to be known to all generations of men of the world after me, that by special commandment of our holy father Pope Leo, I have renewed and honoured the holy church of the blessed apostle St. Peter of Westminster, and I order and establish for ever, that what person of what condition or estate soever he be, from whencesoever he come, or for what offence or cause it be, cometh for refuge into the said holy place, he be assured of his life, liberty, and limbs." After fortifying this grant by the strongest maledictions on all who shall infringe it, Edward returns to the subject of the privilege he had conferred, in a tone of generous enthusiasm, which is in singular contrast with the general character of this weak Prince :—" I grant to every each of them," he says, " in as much as my terrestrial power may suffice, all manner of freedom of JOYOUS LIBERTY." " And I will and ordain, that this my grant endure as long as there remaineth in England, either love or dread of Christian name."

So strictly was this injunction observed, that there is no instance on record of the sanctuary of Westminster being violated before the troubled reign of Richard II. Two gentlemen of the names of Haule and Shackel, having refused to deliver up without ransom to John Duke of Lancaster, the King's uncle, a foreign nobleman, whom he had brought captive from the wars, were committed to the Tower ; but effecting their escape, they fled for refuge to Westminster Abbey.

They were pursued by the captain of the Tower, and a numerous party in the interest of Lancaster. Shackel was re-captured ; but Haule, making a gallant resistance, was slain in the choir of the church, commending his soul to Him who is the avenger of wrong. An outrage so daring and unusual, excited universal abhorrence, and formed one among the many causes of the enmity so strongly manifested by the populace towards the Duke of Lancaster, on the breaking out a few years after of Wat Tyler's rebellion.

The sin of the Duke, or rather of his followers, was not however allowed to remain long without imitators. The people themselves, in the midst of the excesses which they committed in that rebellion, do not seem to have cared how many sacrileges they added to the number. They laid violent hands on the Archbishop of Canterbury, while at his devotions in the chapel in the Tower, and carried him forth to Tower-hill to be beheaded ; and from almost every church in London, Westminster, and Southwark, they dragged to the scaffold some hapless foreigners who had fled thither as to a place of sure refuge. From the church in the Vintry they took thirty-two, from the church of the Augustine Friars thirteen, and from another church, (name not mentioned,) seventeen. The whole of them were beheaded, with the exception of those only who could go through the singular ordeal of pronouncing the words *Bread and Cheese*, without a foreign accent.

A few years after these events, the citizens of London saw the privilege of sanctuary again most cruelly violated, in the case of Sir Robert Tresillian, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. He had had the manliness and integrity to declare, that

the resolution of the barons to deprive Richard II. of his Royal functions, when he was no longer a minor, was illegal ; and, to escape their vengeance, he took refuge in Westminster Abbey, but was dragged hence by the barons, and instantly hanged at Tyburn.

The sanctuary of Westminster seems, notwithstanding these violations, to have revived in estimation. It was here that Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. retired, when Warwick, the king-maker, had nearly restored Henry VI. to the throne ; and in the house of the abbot she was delivered of Edward V. Here too, on the death of her husband, she fled with her youngest son for protection, from the bloody designs of Richard. When required to yield up the young prince into the hands of his uncle, and told that if she refused he would be taken from her by force, she disbelieved his threats, observing, that, " sure no tyrant could ever be so devilish as to break the sanctuary of St. Peter." Richard, however, was that tyrant ; for he moved, in council, that force should be used to obtain possession of the prince. The Archbishop of Canterbury opposed this strongly, but offered to use his influence to persuade the queen to yield to the wishes of the Protector. His mediation was, unhappily, too successful. The queen parted with her child, never to see him more. He was sent to the Tower to keep the young king, his brother, company, and there they both perished, victims of their uncle's perfidy and ambition. Most truly spoke our great bard, when he pronounced it to be

" The most arch deed of piteous massacre
That ever this land was guilty of."

The whole of the consecrated ground belonging to Westminster Abbey, must of old have possessed the privilege of protecting refugees; but there were two buildings to which the name of *sanctuary* was more especially applied. They stood on the north side of St. Margaret's church-yard, and were called the *great* and the *little* sanctuaries. From the descriptions of Stukely and Maitland, in whose days there were still considerable remains of these structures to be seen, they appear to have been of great magnitude and strength, and well calculated for purposes of protection. It is now long since they have been totally demolished.

The place of sanctuary next in note to that of Westminster, was a part of the city of London, over which the dean and chapter of St. Peter's possessed, and still possess jurisdiction. It included the whole of that space now known by the name of St. Martin's le Grand. A college for secular canons and priests stood originally on this site, which was surrendered to Edward VI. in 1548, and pulled down. A number of dwelling-houses then arose in its place; and, claiming that privilege of sanctuary which before belonged to the college, they became speedily a favourite resort for foreigners, and all persons desirous of that protection they were deemed to afford.

The restrictions under which these and other asylums were placed by the act of Henry VIII. did not altogether redeem them from that odium under which they had, in later times, so justly fallen. The diminution of their number made those which were kept up to be more resorted to, and some few, of course, more noted than ever as the abode of vagabonds and outcasts;

for, though the time of residence in them was limited by law, no account was in fact kept of the exits and entrances of inmates, and a frequent exchange of inhabitants served to increase confusion and uncertainty. Places too, which had never before exercised the ecclesiastical privilege of protecting persons from the civil power, such as the Savoy and other hospitals, and were therefore the more readily included in the exemptions of Henry's act, were now prostituted to the same purposes. Hence the regulation which we meet with in the ancient statutes of many of our hospitals, that no rogues or idlers should be suffered to harbour there. In 1587, the Recorder of London sent a posse of constables to search the Savoy, who returned with six tall and stout fellows, who were enrolled there among "the needy, lame, and sick." After being soundly whipped, they were sent back to the hospital to report to others, who might stand in need of it, the lesson they had received.

In the eighth of Elizabeth, a bill was brought into parliament to take away entirely a privilege which was now so much abused; but it was zealously opposed by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who were heard by counsel against it, and, on a division, it was thrown out by a majority of 71 to 60.

During the reign of James the Sixth, the most fashionable asylum of this description was ycleped *Alsatia*, which comprehended all those parts about the Temple which claimed this privilege, more especially Whitefriars and Salisbury-court.

The Revolution, which put an end to so many abuses, at length swept away this among the number.

In 1697, an act of parliament was passed, by which the claims of all the following places in London to privilege of sanctuary were for ever abolished:—Salisbury-court and Whitefriars, Ram-alley and Mitre-court, Fulwood's-rents, Baldwin's-gardens, the Savoy, Montague-close, Deadman's-place, the Clink, and the Mint, in Southwark.

In consequence of some oversight in the magistracy, or through some popular delusion, the Mint in Southwark, though thus expressly included among the deprived places, was left out of the operation of the law. Here the privilege of sanctuary made its last stand, and here it was for a time as prejudicial to justice and good order, as it had ever been ; for it was not finally suppressed till the reign of George I.

The only place which has now any of the character of a sanctuary, is the Tower ; but its privilege extends only to its own residents, who are exempted from arrest while they keep within its limits.

SHOP SIGNS.

The streets of London formerly bore such striking emblems of the trades that were carried on in them, that they could not easily be mistaken. The signs which stood in front of every respectable tradesman's house, or stretched over the pavement, were once such nuisances as actually to obstruct the progress of the passenger, and impede the free circulation of the air.

Signs were originally symbolical representations of the trades which the persons who hung them out carried on, or the articles in which they dealt. They

had their origin, no doubt, in the early stages of society, when literature had made little progress. Nature has a language of her own, which is understood in every country ; thus, the man cast on a distant shore among savages, makes his wants and wishes known by signs, gestures, and motions. The rapid and certain intercourse, which can be carried on by natural signs, suggested the use of symbolical signs, which are known even to savages. The American Indian, when threatened to be deprived of a horse in his possession by a white man, spoke as intelligibly to him by hieroglyphics, as if he had been perfectly master of a language of which he did not know a syllable. He took a piece of coal from the fire-place, made two striking figures on the door of the house—the one representing the white man taking the horse, the other exhibiting himself in the act of scalping the aggressor. With a look that could not be mistaken, he seemed then to ask, whether he could read this Indian writing?

In the infancy of trade, when few mechanics could write, and fewer customers read, the tradesman made known his business or occupation by a sign. Thus the woollen-draper exhibited a woolpack ; the linen-draper, a festoon of the article in which he dealt. The vintner would hang out the sign of a tun ; the shoemaker suspended a shoe or a last over his door ; the smith, a hammer or an anvil ; the brazier, a frying-pan ; and the goldbeater, a gilt hammer—one of the few symbols of trade still common in London. The barber hung out the pole and bason, once the emblem of his double profession, when phlebotomy formed a part of it ; the party-coloured pole representing at

once the staff at that time usually placed in the hands of the patient, and the fillet used in the operation.

With the increase of luxury, the number of occupations was extended, and consequently the number of signs. Two woolpacks, exhibited in the same street, marked the residence of two woollen drapers; but a new distinction was wanted, and hence street signs became not merely emblems of trade, but representations of some particular object, as a dog, a horse, a bear, a lion, an ox, a bee-hive, &c. without any regard or any resemblance to the trade carried on in the house, before which they were suspended. In the course of time even these distinctions were insufficient, and a new device was thought of, that of marking the distinction by a difference of colour; and blue boars, green dragons, golden lions, golden periwigs, gilt Westphalia hams, &c., were adopted as signs. The portrait of some distinguished individual was also frequently selected. Our surgeons and apothecaries exhibited a Galen, or an Hippocrates; our booksellers, a Ben Jonson, or a Shakespeare, a Newton, or a Locke. The crown, as it will ever be under a monarchical government, was, in former times; a favourite sign, not merely with the alehouses and taverns, to which signs now are almost wholly confined, but with other tradesmen. Such was the jealous tyranny of Edward IV., that one Walter Walker, a respectable grocer in Cheapside, was executed for no other crime, than an equivöque, arising out of the use of the crown for a sign. For it is no fiction which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Richard III., when he desires Buckingham to go to Guildhall, and

“ Tell them, how Edward put to death a citizen
Only for saying—he would make his son
Heir to *the crown* ; meaning, indeed, his house ;
Which, by the sign hereof, was called so.”

Although symbolical signs, no doubt, had their origin in the general ignorance and want of education which prevailed at the time of their adoption, yet they were found admirably adapted to the necessary design of conveying information, more rapidly and more distinctly than could possibly be done by written signs, which only express the ideas intended to be signified, in a partial or imperfect manner. It would be very erroneous, therefore, to suppose, with certain authors, that the continuance of them can be, in the least, a matter of national disgrace.

A tradesman, in order to succeed in a metropolis like London, where competition is so strong, cannot possibly make his profession too well known. This is felt by every retail tradesman ; and although he no longer hangs out an emblem of his business, or the article in which he deals, he makes it as prominent as possible, not only in his window, but even very frequently at his door. More prominent signs have not, however, been altogether discarded, and, in many cases, have been found of singular advantage to the person resorting to this ancient mode of advertising. There are few persons who have not heard of the wish of the highlander, “ that he might have a Ben-Lomond of snuff, and a Loch-Lomond of whiskey.” This proverbial attachment of the highlanders has induced several snuff-dealers, in London, to place a full-length figure of one of these brave

mountaineers, large as life, at his door. He is dressed in "the garb of old Gaul," and is generally represented in the act of taking a pinch of snuff. A few years ago, a snuff merchant in one of the public streets of the city, who had placed a highlander at his door, summoned a young Scotsman to the police office, for having overturned the figure, and done it much damage. In the course of his evidence, a fact transpired, which proved the importance of these signs of trade : he stated, that the figure cost him thirteen guineas, but that payment even of that sum would not compensate for the absence of the figure ; for, since it had been stationed at his door, he had taken on an average *twenty shillings a day* more than he had done previously !

If the London signs did no honour to the literature of the age, they were of some service in fostering the arts ; they formed the school in which many an eminent painter first practised, and which some even, ranking high in the profession, have not disdained. Mr. Cotton, Mr. Lamb, (well known in the middle of the last century,) and even Mr. Wale, one of the founders of the Royal Academy, and the first Professor of Perspective in that institution, were sign painters.

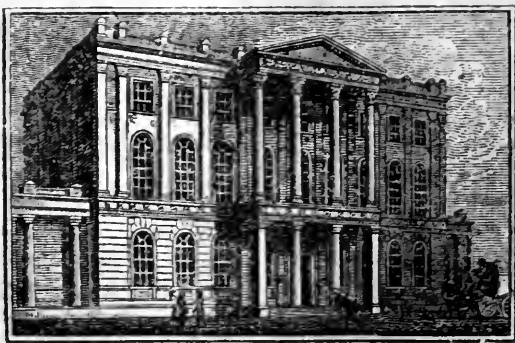
In the beginning of the last century the signs in the streets were so cumbrous, that the iron work alone of one of the signs frequently weighed five or six hundred pounds. In 1762, an act of parliament was passed for the better regulation of the streets, when the signs were all taken down, and Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, Esculapius and Galen, were condemned to mingle with blue boars, red lions, and

other incongruities, in the warehouses of brokers and carpenters, until rescued from oblivion by some virtuoso.

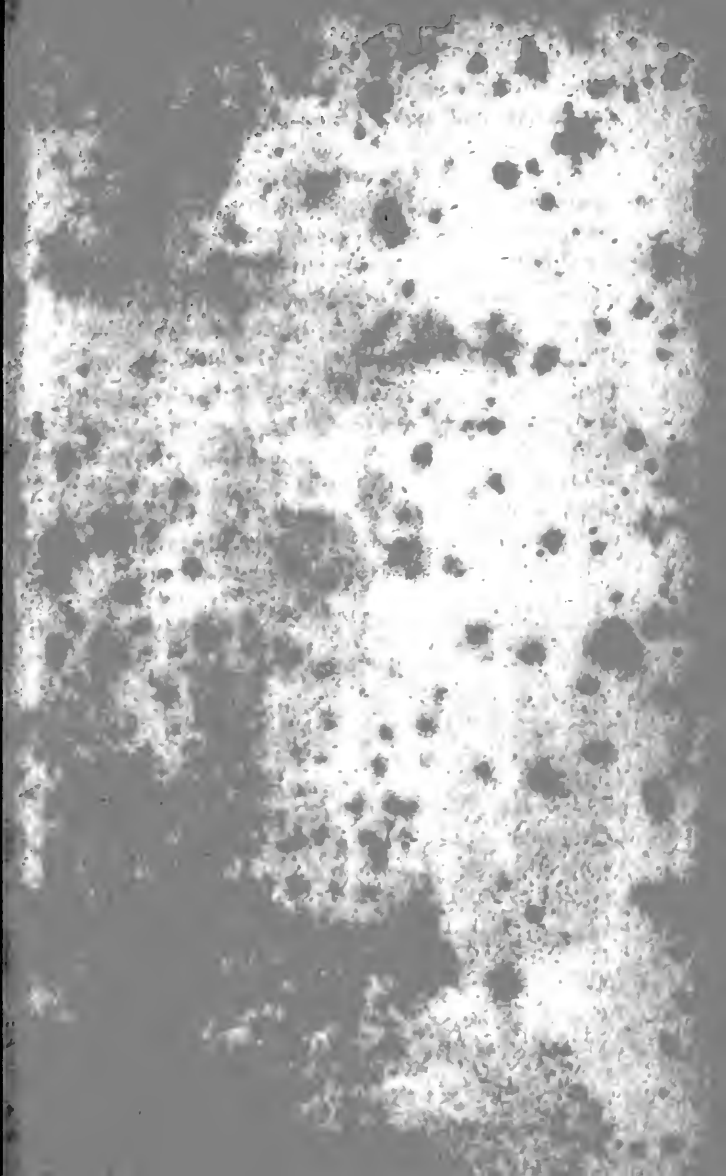
It has often been remarked, that many of the London signs are perfectly unintelligible, and cannot be accounted for on any rational principle. Butler, in his *Hudibras*, alludes to this circumstance, and says—

“ Tell me but what’s the nat’ral cause,
Why, on a sign, no painter draws
The full moon ever, but the half.”

Other signs are equally inexplicable ; but eccentricity in sign-painting is not confined to the British metropolis : it prevails in many other countries ; and a traveller in Flanders states, that among other curious signs, he saw, at a grocer’s shop, a sign which represented a bear routing a bee-hive, with this inscription : “ The dangerous adventure, yet sweet attempt.”



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THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON.

Drawn by J. Carterwright

The Percy Histories.

LONDON.

Where has commerce such a mart,
So rich, so throng'd, so drain'd, and so supplied,
As London ? opulent, enlarg'd, and still
Increasing London. *Comper.*

CIVIL GOVERNMENT TILL THE REVOLU- TION OF 1668.

THE municipal government of London has varied considerably under the successive domination of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. In the early period of the Roman sway in Britain, it was entirely military ; but the growing importance of the city soon raised it to the rank of a colony, which entitled it to peculiar privileges. The government then became assimilated to that of Rome ; the chief magistrate was a prefect, appointed by the parent State, and the inhabitants were considered as Roman citizens.

When England came under the dominion of the Saxons, and of our great lawgiver Alfred, the civil in-

stitutions of the metropolis, like those of all the rest of the country, appear to have been modelled anew, and in a manner so wise, that they have retained the form then given them, through all succeeding ages. It was Alfred who first divided the kingdom into shires or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings, in order that by this subdivision of jurisdiction, peace and order in the community might be the better preserved ; and, though our histories are silent as to the extension of this system to the metropolis of the kingdom, the evidence of analogy is strong enough to warrant us in concluding, that it was from Alfred also that London first derived its sheriff, (*shire-reve*), and its division into wards and precincts, under the government of *Ealdermen*, or *Aldermen*, and their deputies. When it is considered besides that every scarch that has been made into the antiquity of these offices, has reached back to the Saxon time, and there stopped, all doubt must vanish, as to the source from which they sprung. The civil government of London, and that of the country at large, can have had but one common parent—the great, the good, the enlightened Alfred.

The office of sheriff being purely executive, and the aldermen all of equal power, it became necessary, for the completion of the municipal scheme of polity, that there should be one supreme governor or magistrate, (the eldest among the eldermen,) who might superintend the conduct of the rest, in their respective jurisdictions, preside over them in their collective deliberations, be the organ of the city's will, and more peculiarly than any other, the guardian of its

interests. The officer in whom this power was conferred, was styled by the Saxons, the *Port-geref* or *Port-reve*. The duration of his office was limited to one year ; but it does not appear whether he was elected to it by the citizens themselves, or nominated by the king.

The Normans retained the port-reve, but appear on some occasions to have associated with him, another officer called a *Provost*. Of the manner in which the duties of the office were divided between them we have no account. No instance of the chief magistracy being thus put in commission occurs later than the accession of Henry the Second.

According to Stow, in the first year of Richard I., (1189,) the city “ obtained to be governed by two bailiffs, which bailiffs are, in divers ancient deeds, called shrives” i. e. sheriffs ; and it has been from this hastily inferred by some writers, that these bailiffs superseded both portreve and provost. The statement appears to us, however, to mean only that the office of sheriff had been then first split into two ; for it is a vulgar error which prevails, that it is because of the annexation of the Sheriffalty of Middlesex, to that of London, that there are two sheriffs. The division of the office took place some years anterior to that annexation ; and the reason for it was that London is by charter, both a city and a county within itself. It is certain that in the fourth year of Richard’s reign, only three years after this supposed innovation of the two bailiffs, the chief magistracy was vested in one person as usual ; for it was in that year that Henry Fitz Alwyn, being then governor or portreve, assumed the title of *mayor*, and placed him-

self first in that long line of worthies who have done honour to the name and office.

While Fitz Alwyn lived, the mayoralty remained, by a sort of courtesy, vested in his person, and was filled in a manner free from reproach ; but on his death, in the twenty-fourth year of his civic administration, the citizens manifested a very proper anxiety to have the office placed on a more constitutional basis. King John was desirous of conciliating their good will at this time, and they obtained, without difficulty, from him, a charter by which the crown conceded to them the liberty of choosing a mayor annually out of their own body, and continuing him at their own pleasure from year to year.

The oppressive conduct of John towards the city at a later period, put its rights in jeopardy for a season, but served in the end to bring about a course of events which placed them on a still surer foundation. We have seen that in the Great Charter, the history of which has been already given, it was declared among other things, that the " city of London should have all its ancient privileges, and free customs, as well by land as by water."

In the ignominious times of Henry the Third, and particularly when that monarch was under the influence of the justiciary Hubert de Burgh, the privileges of the citizens of London were repeatedly invaded, in the most wanton manner, by the crown. In consequence of the tumult which we have before related, (*Ancient Sports and Pastimes*), for inciting which, Constantine Fitz Arnulph and others were executed, the justiciary thought proper to degrade the mayor and aldermen from their functions, on the pretence of their not hav-

ing exerted themselves sufficiently to preserve the peace. He then transferred the government of the city to a *custos* or keeper of his own nomination, and selected thirty of the principal inhabitants, whom he obliged to sign a bond for the future good conduct of their fellow citizens. The real character of these measures may be gathered from the fact, that in a short time after the citizens were permitted to *purchase* back the rights of which they had been thus violently deprived. Stowe says, that the price amounted to "many thousand marks." The whole of Henry's conduct towards the citizens of London, was in fact one continued system of extortion and oppression. After granting them five charters, four of which were merely confirmatory, and the fifth of small importance, he exacted from them, by way of fine for these five grants, a fifteenth of all their personal estates. At another time he obliged them to make him a present of five thousand marks, because they had given a like sum to Prince Lewis of France, when, along with the barons, they sided with that prince against King John. At Christmas he would take up his abode in the city, and compel the citizens, not only to present him with valuable new years' gifts, but to feast the whole court in the most sumptuous and extravagant manner. Not a single act of misgovernment, whether proceeding from the worst or the lightest of motives, was suffered to pass without being made the pretext for some new exaction, some new punishment. Twice was the government of the city again taken out of the hands of its own magistrates and transferred to custodes, nominated by the king; and as often was it restored to them on

the usual condition of paying handsomely for getting back their own. When such deprivations had not the effect contemplated by royal cupidity, the magistrates were cast into prison, and detained there till presents of plate and money appeased the anger of their sovereign. Neither person nor property was safe from the grasp of the tyrant. Apprehensive at last, that he would strip them of all they possessed, they collected ten thousand pounds of their money, and deposited it in the treasury of the knights templars at the New Temple, conceiving that from the sanctity of the place it would there be safe from spoliation. Prince Edward, the king's son, however, immediately went and broke open the treasury, and took away the whole of the money. The citizens could be quiescent no longer; and immediately flew to arms, resolved on asserting their undoubted right of resistance to a reign of plunder and oppression. The Barons had already unfurled their banners, and the citizens of London joined them in great numbers. In the battle of Lewes there were 15,000 of them present, who suffered most severely; for, though the king's army was defeated, the Londoners reaped none of the laurels. Prince Edward, having made the city column the object of his principal attack, put it to the route and pursued it with relentless slaughter for four miles; but while thus absent from the field, Simon de Montfort and his brother barons were gaining advantages, which ultimately decided the victory in their favour. The affairs of the king were, however, retrieved by the triumph at Evesham in the following year, and vengeance now fell with a heavy hand on all who had been concerned in this luckless effort for freedom.

A parliament was assembled at Westminster, by which it was enacted, that "the city of London for its late rebellion should be divested of its liberties, its posts and chains taken away, and its principal citizens imprisoned and left to the mercy of the king." The citizens endeavoured in vain to propitiate that "mercy" to which they were thus consigned, by the most humble supplications. The act of parliament had been purposely so framed, that the king might again rob and oppress them to the utmost; and never had a wicked law, a more zealous executor. He seized on the estates, houses, and personal effects of many of the chief citizens, and consigned four of the richest to dungeons till they paid enormous sums for their ransom. Nor did he stay the work of spoliation, till the citizens came forward with a general contribution of twenty thousand marks, which, owing to the exhausted state of the city, was collected with so much difficulty, that even servants and lodgers were obliged to be included in the assessment. The pardon which it procured from Henry, amounted after all to no more than an exemption from farther pillage; for the chartered rights of the citizens Henry still withheld. Four custodes were appointed to rule the city, according to their own discretion; and the citizens were left without the smallest share in the direction of its affairs. After they had remained three years under this arbitrary sway, the king so far relented, that, by a charter, dated in March, 1268, he remitted all past offences, and confirmed all the ancient privileges of the city, with this important exception, that they should continue deprived of the right of electing their own magistrates. In 1270, however, Prince

Edward, being appointed governor of the city, prevailed with the king to concede also the excepted privilege, and thus restored the citizens to the full enjoyment of all their ancient institutions.

When Edward the First came to the throne, Gregory de Rokeslie was mayor of London, and a man of so much talent and consideration, that the king employed him to execute a foreign mission of considerable importance, in preference to many dignitaries in church and state, who solicited the appointment. In order to provide for the government of the city, during the mayor's absence, the king addressed a writ to the corporation, directing them "to appoint four respectable and discreet persons, whom he might commission, during the mayor's absence, to preserve peace and good order, and to administer justice within the city's jurisdiction."

It would seem that Rokeslie had subsequently fallen into disfavour, for we find that, in his person, the dignity and privileges of the mayoralty were afterwards very grossly violated. In 1286, the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and other eminent citizens, were summoned to make inquisition at the Tower, before John de Kirkeby, treasurer, and other justices of the king. It was, however, one of the ancient privileges of the city, that the corporation should not be bound to make inquisition in the Tower, nor appear there, *pro judicio*, unless on a previous notice of forty days. The mayor, therefore, previous to obeying the summons, resigned the common seal of the city to Stephen Aswy, and other aldermen; and at Barking church, which is on the eastern verge of the city, laid down the insignia of his office. He

then entered the Tower, not as mayor but as a private individual, and when an explanation of this conduct was demanded from him, he asserted firmly the rights of the city.

The treasurer immediately declared the office of mayor and the liberties of London forfeited to the king, giving as a reason, the odious fiction, that, as Rokeslie had divested himself of the seal and insignia of office, the city had no longer any chief magistrate. Eighty of the principal citizens repaired to Westminster hall, to remonstrate against this usurpation, but for their temerity were arrested, and thrown into prison. For four days were this numerous and respectable deputation thus immured, and then, without apology or explanation dismissed to their homes. The king now appointed Sir Radulph de Sandwich, knt., custos, in place of the mayor, with orders at the same time, to govern the city according to its ancient customs and liberties. Sir Radulph and Sir John Breton were alternately custodes, until the year 1298, when the king allowed the citizens again to choose their own mayor, though not till they had made him a gift of 20,000 marks.

Many years were not suffered to elapse before the citizens had to complain of new infractions of their rights; arising in this instance, however, not from external aggression, but from corruption among themselves. The mayor and aldermen began to assume the right of continuing themselves in office during pleasure; and when they resigned, it was but for a season, for the sake of preserving appearances, and to persons of their own appointment. They imposed taxes too upon the citizens, and disposed of the

money derived from them, as well as of the whole revenue of the city, in any manner they pleased. From 1315 to 1322, the discontents and upbraidings which these lawless usurpations occasioned, kept the city in a state of continual ferment. In 1318, articles of agreement were, through the mediation of the king, (Edward II.), entered into between the citizens and their magistrates, for a redress of grievances ; but, if observed at all, it was only for a short period. No permanent redress followed, and the city still continued a prey to the tyranny of a self-elected few. Edward, at length, on the specious pretext of putting an end to this state of things, took the government of the city into his own hands. Shortly after, indeed, he gave permission to the aldermen and commonalty to elect their own mayor ; but a gift of 2000*l.* which they immediately presented to him, told the price at which their rights were redeemed from this double usurpation.

When the slavish attachment of Edward to his favorites, the Spencers, drove his queen, Isabella, and the barons, into rebellion against her authority, the citizens of London having evinced a disposition to take part with the latter, the king again seized upon the government of the city, and appointed Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, custos. The bishop proceeded accordingly to demand the keys from the mayor ; but the citizens, assembling in great numbers around their chief magistrate, not only obliged him to maintain possession of the symbols of authority, but, laying hold of the unlucky prelate, proclaimed him a traitor and cut off his head.

The citizens now declared openly for the Queen ;

seized and executed a number of persons whom they supposed to be her enemies ; made themselves masters of the Tower ; dismissed all the king's officers ; and placed both the city and tower at the command of those who were engaged in the righteous cause of freeing the country from the bondage of favouritism.

The king, unable to stem the torrent of popular indignation, was defeated, taken prisoner, deposed. Isabella entered London in triumph, and transferred to her son, Edward III., that crown which his father had so unworthily worn.

In return for the important services which the citizens had rendered at this crisis, Edward III., within two months after his accession, granted them a most ample confirmation and enlargement of their corporate privileges. He not only confirmed all the ancient rights of the city, whether founded upon charter or custom, and annulled every innovation upon them that had been made from the earliest times, and in whatever manner ; but, in order to prevent any future infraction or suspension of them, on account of any real or pretended misconduct of persons temporarily invested with the administration of the city government, it was expressly declared, " that for any personal transgression, or personal judgement of any minister of the same city, the liberty of this city should not be taken into the hands of the king, or his heirs ; nor a custos be deputed on that occasion in the same city."

Edward III. continued, throughout his reign, to pay a strict regard to the privileges which he had thus solemnly confirmed and extended. In the days of his dotage, a report prevailed, that it had been pro-

posed in council, to abrogate or suspend them, on account of the part which the citizens took against the celebrated Wickliff; but, though there is evidence of their having opposed the spread of the reformation, there is none of their having received the punishment which their bigotry deserved. A synod had been held at St. Paul's, to pass judgement on Wickliff for the new opinions which he was then broaching in religious matters. The apostle of reform made his appearance before the tribunal, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl Marshal of England, as his friends and protectors. In the course of the proceedings, a dispute arose between the duke and the Bishop of London, in which the citizens espoused the cause of their spiritual chief so warmly, that the duke and earl marshal thought it prudent to withdraw with the accused. A rumour was next day spread abroad, that the duke, out of resentment, had moved in council, that the city privileges should be taken away, the office of lord mayor be abolished, and the government of the city entrusted to the earl marshal. The citizens immediately assembled, in a most tumultuous manner, broke open the Marshal's prison, (the Marshalsea), and liberated the prisoners; then proceeded to the Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, which they plundered, and missing the prince himself, made prize of his coat of armour, which they dragged along the streets in token of their detestation of the owner. Had no proposition of the kind been agitated in council, such conduct was of itself sufficient to provoke the most exemplary punishment. The duke, however, contented himself with insisting on the degradation.

merely of the mayor and certain of the aldermen, who appeared not to have exerted themselves with sufficient vigour in quelling the riot.

During the days of Richard II., the reign of rapacity returned, and the citizens of London were again doomed to suffer largely in their property for the preservation of their privileges. In one of the many pecuniary difficulties in which this prince was involved by his prodigal habits, he made a demand on the city, for the loan of a thousand pounds. The city not only refused the money, but when a Lombard merchant, of more exuberant loyalty, offered to make the advance out of his own purse, they chastised him severely for his officiousness. They seem to have been actuated less by a regard for the money itself, than an honest desire to check the profusion in which Richard indulged to a degree beyond all preceding example. The moral censorship which they chose to exercise, cost them, however, dear. Richard called his nobles together, to whom he represented in indignant terms, the presumption and maliciousness of "these Londoners," and with their concurrence suspended the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs from their offices; revoked and annulled the whole of the rights and privileges of the city; removed the courts of law to York and Nottingham, ordered the magistrates to pay into the royal treasury the sum of 3000 marks, and the commonalty the more enormous sum of 100,000*l.* (*Rymer's Fædera*, vol. 7. p. 785.) And in the mean time, committed the mayor and other principal citizens to different and distant prisons, there to remain till these fines were paid. Nor were they even then to expect restoration to favour, for it was

decreed, that in future the citizens should have no government of their own ; but, that the king should appoint one of his knights to be ruler of the city.

Happily it was not long before the king shewed a disposition to commute these severe penalties ; which seem indeed to have been made thus severe for the very purpose of enabling his majesty the more readily to turn the remission of them to profitable account. The citizens appreciated the character of his majesty's proceedings quite correctly, when, as Stowe informs us, they concluded that " the end of these things was a money matter." They first tried the cupidity of the king with an offer of 10,000*l.* for a restoration of their privileges, but this proposal was not thought worthy of an answer. Soon after, however, they were informed that the king had taken compassion on them, and meant, with his queen, to pay the city a visit, when they would have an opportunity of shewing, by the reception they gave their majesties, how far they were deserving of the royal favour. Richard having set out on this visit of conciliation from his palace at Sheen, was met at Wandsworth, by four hundred of the principal inhabitants mounted on horseback, who tendered the humble submission of the city, and besought his majesty's gracious pardon for all its past offences. As he entered the city, his coming was greeted with the acclamations and blessings of assembled thousands ; in all the streets through which he passed, the houses were decorated with cloths of gold, silver and silk ; the conduits ran with the choicest wines ; and at every step the most costly gifts were heaped on the monarch and his queen. Crowns and tables and vessels of gold ;

horses proudly caparisoned ; cloths of the richest fabrics ; coins, jewels, and precious stones ; are enumerated among the offerings made on this occasion by an injured people, to appease the wrath of their sovereign. Well might the citizens imagine, that their pardon was now secure ; yet, profuse as they had been, Richard was still unsatisfied. He insisted on having a further gift of 10,000*l.* in money ; and not until this sum was collected by an assessment on the inhabitants, and paid into the royal coffers, would he consent to restore the city to its privileges, and remit the fines of 3000 marks and 100,000*l.* which he had originally imposed on the magistrates and commonalty. Such is the compassion of tyrants ; such the “good old times,” which ought to make the citizens of London reckon, as above all price, the constitutional liberty which they now enjoy.

Every care was taken not to furnish Richard with any new pretext for interfering with the government of the city ; but when he could no longer plunder it, under disguise of the royal prerogative, he did not hesitate to have recourse to open force. In 1397, without any pretext whatever, he extorted from the city, in its corporate capacity, 10,000 marks, and in the following year levied still larger sums from individual citizens.

The tyranny of Richard, however, was now drawing to its natural termination. The universal disaffection which it had produced, encouraged Henry of Bolingbroke to hoist the standard of rebellion ; Richard was in an instant hurled from his throne ; and those streets which had been so lately paved, as

it were, with diamonds at his approach—where he had witnessed far more loyalty than he knew how to appreciate—saw him led captive to the tower, without one token of that commiseration which the fall of greatness usually inspires.

The new king, Henry IV. gave the citizens no cause to regret his accession to the throne ; while he lived, he respected their institutions, and granted them several new privileges highly conducive to the good government of the city, particularly a more absolute controul than they had yet possessed, over the different gates and posterns.

During the splendid reign of Henry V., and that of his son Henry VI., while under the beneficent protectorate of the great Duke of Bedford, the government of the city was left, without interference, in the hands of its own magistrates, and never, perhaps, was that government more ably or prosperously administered.

When the turbulent Cardinal Beaufort endeavoured, in the absence of the Protector in France, to wrest the reins of power from the hands of the deputy protector, the good Duke Humphry of Gloucester ; he commenced with an attempt to get possession of London by surprize, while the citizens were engaged in the annual festivity of welcoming their chief magistrate into office ; but through the vigilant and spirited conduct of the mayor, Sir John Coventry, the design was happily frustrated.

After the assumption of the sceptre by Henry the Sixth himself, the loyalty of the citizens of London was assailed by many temptations ; but they were slow in participating in the party feuds which the misgo-

vernment of this imbecile prince produced. The good service which they rendered Henry on the occasion of Jack Cade's, or rather Richard Duke of York's insurrection, as already related, (p. 157,) appears to have arisen, more from a wish to rid the city of a troublesome guest than from any affection for the prince himself; nor was it till a considerable time after war was openly declared between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, that they declared for either. In 1458, it was selected as a sort of neutral ground where the chiefs of the adverse parties might meet to treat of terms of accommodation; and the manner in which its magistrates conducted themselves on the occasion, did singular honour to their impartiality and firmness. From a distrust of each other's good faith, the leaders of both parties came to the conference attended by numerous retinues of armed men; and to preserve the peace of the city from the imminent danger to which it was exposed by so numerous a confluence of hostile spirits, the mayor, Sir Godfrey Boleyn (ancestor to the queens, Ann Boleyn and Elizabeth), caused a guard of five thousand well armed citizens, to keep watch day and night. So imposing a force kept both the Yorkists and Lancastrians in awe, while it shewed that possession of the city was a prize to be hoped for, at present, by neither. After many communings, articles of reconciliation were at length agreed to, and celebrated with abundant solemnity in St. Paul's cathedral; but, founded in mutual insincerity and deceit, the parties separated only to appeal anew to the decision of arms.

The citizens of London thought it now incumbent on them to depart from that line of neutrality which

they had hitherto observed. The miseries of civil war were no longer to be averted ; and they felt as all true patriots must feel in such cases, that it was their duty to throw their weight, where it might have most influence in bringing these miseries to a speedy termination. The side which the Londoners espoused was that, in fact, which ultimately triumphed. The Duke of York was established on the throne, by the title of Edward IV., and manifested his gratitude to the citizens, for the services they had rendered to his cause, by several important grants, which added considerably, both to the jurisdiction and to the revenue of the corporation. (*See Revenue.*)

The subsequent union of the houses of York and Lancaster, though in its general results auspicious to the nation, was less immediately so to the citizens of London, than to any other portion of the community. The reign of the first of the Tudors, though distinguished by a policy well suited to the character of the times, was stained by many acts of grievous oppression towards the citizens of London. The master passion of Henry's breast was avarice ; and to fill his coffers he had recourse to modes of extortion quite as odious as those by which Henry III. and Richard II. fed the streams of their thriftless prodigality. He did not, like them, traffic in taking away privileges that he might make money by restoring them ; he shewed every respect for the ancient and undoubted right of the citizens to elect their own magistrates, but took the liberty at the same time of asserting his own right to determine whether their magistrates did their duty, and to fine them smartly, for whatever, in the omnipotence of

his discrimination, he chose to brand with the name of malversation. The ingenuity of this mode of spoliation was considerable; since it made the citizens themselves the purveyors, and the worse the magistrate, the more certain he was to enrich the sovereign. Civic honours became now the greatest of all individual misfortunes; to be elected into office was to be marked out as a victim for royal rapacity. Sir W. Capel, who filled the mayoralty in 1503, was, five years after, on a general allegation of remissness in his official duties, fined 2000*l.* and because he refused to submit to the iniquitous exaction, was committed a close prisoner to the tower. Sir Thomas Kniesworth, who was mayor in 1505, and his two sheriffs, paid the sum of 1400*l.*, to escape a similar fate. Sir Lawrence Aylmer, who filled the mayoralty in 1507, and his two sheriffs, preferred the example of Capel, and followed him to prison rather than pay the heavy fines which were demanded from them. An alderman of the name of Hawes was also imprisoned for some pretended misconduct in his official capacity, which affected him so much that he died of a broken heart.

The accession of Henry VIII. opened the prison gates to Capel and the other victims of his predecessor's tyranny; while Empson and Dudley, who had been the chief agents in these schemes of extortion, expiated by their lives the infamy of their employment. With "a generous magnanimity, not uncommon in the world, the new king gave up the offenders and profited by the offence; sent the collectors to the scaffold, and kept the money in his treasury."

During the reign of Henry VIII., despotic and sanguinary as it was, the corporate privileges of the city of London were more respected than they had been for many a preceding age. The events of Evil May-day exhibited as remarkable an example of misgovernment as is perhaps to be found in the city annals ; but though there was humiliation and shame and reproach in the treatment which the magistrates experienced from Henry on the occasion, it was attended with no resumption, no infringement of charters. The citizens, too, went farther than they had ever yet done, in opposing the pretensions of the crown, to levy taxes of its own authority ; but, with the exception of one stubborn patriot, who was seized and sent to the wars on account of the lead which he took in this opposition, they suffered no harm for their spirited conduct ; Henry even withdrew his pretensions, and disavowed the authority by which they had been put forward.

In the reign of Mary, the civil government of the city suffered a temporary suspension during the formidable rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt. The Londoners were suspected, and not without reason, of being favourable to the cause of the rebels. The city was, therefore, placed under the military command of Lord William Howard, as her majesty's lieutenant ; and it was by his spirited conduct in defending it, when attacked by the insurgents, that the rebellion was ultimately defeated.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the sceptre, she administered the government of the kingdom in all its parts, so arbitrarily, and yet so well, by the mere force of her personal talents, that the privileges of the

city of London, like every other free institution of the country, were lost to the sight, amid the glories of her unrivalled reign. The metropolis was at all times an object of her peculiar care ; and, in her own person, she may be said to have at once united the various functions of counsellor, alderman, and chief magistrate. The persons who filled the different civil offices during her reign, were in general the mere instruments of her will. The power she exercised was unlimited ; but tempered with so steady a regard to the interests and honour of her people, as to gain her their unanimous esteem and confidence. The numerous and large demands which were made on the city, during her reign, for men and money, were obeyed with an alacrity, which shewed that she had their hearts and purses equally at her command. It is remarked by historians, as a singular circumstance, that such devotion, as the citizens of London displayed to Elizabeth, should not have been rewarded by any new privileges, nor even by a confirmation of those which had been granted to them by her predecessors. The fact, however, is but in harmony with the character of her reign. She ruled well, not by virtue of wax and parchment. She made the days forgotten when charters were worth caring about, by shewing how easy it is for a good and wise monarch to make a people happy without them ; and she left besides in her example, what ought to have been of more weight with her successors than ten thousand charters.

James I., with talents for ruling vastly inferior to those of Elizabeth, endeavoured to govern the kingdom on the same absolute principle ; but governing it weakly, and ingloriously—exerting power more for its

own sake than for any good it could confer—he brought odium on himself, and disaster on his race, by the experiment. The citizens of London, however, were among those who suffered the least from his arbitrary pretensions, for, sensible of the importance of cultivating their good opinion, he treated them at all times with peculiar kindness and respect. He became a member of several of their companies; he honoured their public feasts with his presence; he borrowed repeatedly, large sums of money from them, which he repaid punctually, though in his general habits careless and profuse; and he extended and confirmed the city's jurisdiction by more than one valuable charter.

The local government of the city, which had been in a manner superseded during the reign of Elizabeth, now resumed its functions; and in one remarkable instance, we find it even opposing itself to the general government of the sovereign.—After James had published his *Book of Sports*, by which a general toleration was given to break the Lord's day, his majesty happening one Sunday to drive through London during divine service, in contempt of one of the city's regulations, the lord mayor (the Right Hon. George Bolles) had the spirit and firmness to order the king's carriages to be stopped. "What!" exclaimed James, swollen with rage, "I thought there had been ne'er a king in England but myself." He immediately despatched a messenger to the lord mayor, with his royal commands to let the carriages pass. "While it was in my power," replied the worthy magistrate, "I did my duty; but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey." It is said that James had the good sense to

do justice to the spirit which dictated this conduct, and thanked the mayor for knowing the duties of his office so well.

Charles I. acting upon as extravagant notions as his father, of the kingly prerogative, and with as little ability, while the advancing intelligence of the age was daily rendering them more and more intolerable; the patience of the people became at length exhausted, and they had recourse to arms to re-assert their violated liberties. In this necessary effort, the city of London, which had suffered more than any other part of the kingdom, from the oppression of the king, took a leading and important part; from first to last, it was the life and soul of the independent cause; and but for its perseverance, firmness, and sacrifices, it seems more than probable that the nation would, at this time, have sunk at the feet of despotism. From being so directly under the eye of the star chamber and high commission courts, it had opportunities of witnessing too many of those "fantastic tricks," which make "even angels weep," to abandon easily the attempt to be free.—It had seen its most venerated institutions set at nought; *martial law* substituted for civic rule; trade and industry made matters of privilege and monopoly; the property of the citizens plundered by illegal exactions; the richer sort thrown into prison when they refused compliance, and the poorer dragged to serve in the army and navy. It had seen the king repenting himself of these severities, when he found them less productive to his treasury than he expected, and by a formal charter (18th October, 1638) confirming and restoring to the citizens "every right, immunity,

franchise, and privilege, which they had ever enjoyed ;" and yet, immediately after, violating all of them as wantonly and perfidiously as ever. The sword of the lord mayor was at last ordered to be taken from him ; and four of the aldermen were committed to different prisons, because they refused to be the instruments of exacting from their fellow-citizens a forced loan of 200,000*l.* Submission had now reached its limits ; and in turning the sword of the city against the tyrant who demanded its surrender, the citizens did but their duty. The attempt, it is true, was far from ending in the attainment of that liberty and security, for which the citizens took the field ; for, after years of anarchy, they but exchanged one despotism for another—that of the king for that of the commonwealth ; yet, though defrauded of the fair harvest which promised to crown their labours, the spirit is not the less to be commended which made them foremost in the fight when liberty seemed the prize.

The destruction of the monarchy formed no part of the views which guided the more rational and respectable portion of the London citizens—they desired only to see it restored to a constitutional basis. When parliament passed the "act for the eheredation of the royal line, and the abolition of monarchy in the kingdom," Sir Abraham Reynardson, the lord mayor, refused to proclaim it in the city ; and for doing so, was degraded from his office, fined 2000*l.* and committed to the Tower.

The last to submit to the usurpation of Cromwell, the citizens of London were also the first to co-operate with Monk in his plans for the restoration of the

exiled family. They made him the major-general of their forces, for the purpose of adding to his weight at this important crisis; and the lord mayor, Sir Thomas Adams, formed one of the deputation which went over to Breda, to invite the return of Charles the Second.

The restored monarch evinced in the outset of his government a just sense of the claims which the city had established to his kindness and protection. He granted them a charter, since called *the Great Charter of Confirmation*; in which all the privileges, liberties, rights, and customs granted to the city by former sovereigns were carefully recited, and now solemnly confirmed, "in return for the late tokens of loyalty discovered in the said city towards his person and government, by their effectual aid to restore him to the crown." The gratitude of Charles, however, was but of brief duration. Neither the unhappy fall of his father, nor his own misfortunes, nor all the lights of the age, had been able to purify his nature from that love of arbitrary power which formed the hereditary vice of his race. Scarcely had the shouts which welcomed his return ceased to vibrate in the ear, when he entered on a similar career of misgovernment, to that which had led his predecessor to the scaffold. Again, were the citizens of London driven by the course of events to stand forward in defence of the rights of the subject; and had the nation only supported them as well on this as they had done on former occasions, our history might have been spared the "disgrace" which, in the opinion of an enlightened statesman, was cast on it by the impunity with which Charles the Second was suffered to pursue his

career of tyranny to its end.—(*Fox's Life of James II.*) When, in 1681, parliament was dissolved because of its refusal to proceed with the supplies till the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, on account of his Catholic tenets, was passed, the citizens of London assembled in common hall, and after voting thanks to their representatives for the share they had in this refusal, they resolved, “by God’s assistance, to stand by them with their lives and fortunes; being confidently assured, that the said members for the city will never consent to the granting any money or supply, till they have *effectually secured them against Popery and arbitrary power.*” The same sentiments were re-echoed in the resolutions of other corporate bodies, in all parts of the country; yet when Charles, rather than accept of supplies on such terms, resolved to govern without a parliament at all, and became a pensionary to France for the means of supporting his state as an English monarch, no general effort was interposed to save the country from this declension into absolute despotism, and the citizens of London were left to be overwhelmed by the vengeance of the court, for the single example which it had presumed to offer of resistance to its will. “The city of London (says Mr. Fox) seemed to hold out for a certain time like a strong fortress in a conquered country; and, by means of this citadel, Shaftesbury and others were saved from the vengeance of the court. But this resistance, however honourable to the corporation who made it, could not be of long duration. The weapons of law and justice were found feeble when opposed to the power of a monarch, who was at the head of a numerous

and bigotted party of the nation, and who, which was most material of all, had enabled himself to govern without parliament." The court first succeeded in wresting from the livery of London, partly by corruption and partly by violence, the election of their mayor and sheriffs. As soon as it had thus obtained unlimited control over the administration of justice—the power of packing juries who would decide as they were ordered, and of nominating magistrates who would shrink from the execution of no iniquity—it began to maltreat and plunder, under colour of law, all who had shewn themselves most forward in asserting the rights of the people. A fine of 1000*l.* had hitherto been thought enormous; but such was the thirst of revenge which now animated the court party, that the fines imposed by venal judges for, what as venal juries chose to pronounce, offences against law, were increased to 10,000*l.* 40,000*l.* and even 100,000*l.*! Alderman Pilkington, and two other citizens, Colt and Oates, were fined 100,000*l.* each, for speaking disrespectfully of the Duke of York; Sir Patience Ward, who was lord mayor in 1681, was found guilty of perjury because he had sworn that he did not hear the words ascribed to Pilkington; nor could the just and mild principles which characterize the criminal law of England, protect even the lives of such men as Sidney, Russel, and Armstrong, "when the sacrifice was called for by the policy and vengeance of the king."

Incredible as it may seem, something more was still wanted to complete the schemes of tyranny which the court was now triumphantly pursuing. It had got into its hands, as we have seen, the appointment

of the mayor and sheriffs; but as the annual election to these offices, according to the chartered usages of the city, might, in some evil hour, give an opportunity to the disaffected to contest the power of nomination with success, it was decided to be necessary that the corporate privileges of the city should be abrogated entirely, and the government of it rendered simply and absolutely dependent on the king.—The citizens were served with a writ of *quo warranto*, calling upon them to show that they had *not* forfeited, by certain acts of malversation imputed to them, the various rights which the charters of a long line of sovereigns had conferred on them.

In the pretexts employed to obtain the cloak of a judicial decision for this predetermined extinction of the corporation, a good deal of wicked ingenuity was displayed.—When the crown, said the king's lawyers, conferred the privileges of a corporation on the citizens, they were of course intended to operate for the good of the crown; if employed for a different purpose, it was but right that they should revert to it; and that they had been so, was clear from the resolution which they had published after the dissolution of the parliament in 1681, to support, “with their lives and fortunes,” the members who opposed the king. The charters of the city, moreover, had not conferred on it the right of taxing the lieges; and yet it had, of its own authority, imposed certain tolls on all goods brought thither for sale. The corporation had, in short, both scandalized the king's government and oppressed their fellow-subjects; and “as the common council was the body of the city chosen by all the citizens, so they were all involved in what the common council did.”

The counsel for the city had one invincible answer to make to all these arguments, namely, that whatever might be the character of the resistance which the corporation of 1681 had offered to the king, and however illegal the tolls which that or other corporations had imposed, yet they were but *personal misdemeanours*; and by the celebrated provision of Edward III. confirmed by every succeeding sovereign, it had been expressly declared, that "the liberties of the city could not be taken into the king's hands for any *personal* trespass or judgement of any minister of the said city."

Defence, however, was unavailing, where judgement had previously been signed. In Trinity term, 1683, the court of king's bench declared it to be their opinion, that the malversations of the common council must be considered as acts of the whole city; and that the two points set forth in the pleadings of the crown were just grounds for the forfeiture of the city's charter. The attorney-general did not, however, enter up judgement immediately; in the hope, as it would seem, that when the corporation saw their fate thus dependent on the nod of the king, they might be induced to come forward with some offer of compromise, by agreeing to which, the crown might probably gain more than it could hope to accomplish by the absolute resumption of the city's rights. The court party in the city, with a ready perception of what was expected from them, immediately called a court of common council, where they succeeded in procuring the adoption, by a considerable majority, of a petition to the king, in which the corporation fully acknowledged the misgovernment ascribed to them, solicited pardon, promised

constant loyalty and obedience for the future, and placed themselves entirely at the disposal of his majesty.

The lord mayor, at the head of a numerous deputation from the council, presented this petition to the king. When Charles had read it, he handed it to the lord keeper North, desiring him to state the conditions on which his majesty would accede to the prayer of the petitioners.

The conditions were—

1. That no lord mayor, sheriff, recorder, common serjeant, town clerk, or coroner of the City of London, or steward of the Borough of Southwark, should be capable of, or admitted to, the exercise of their respective offices, before his majesty had approved them under his sign manual.

2. That if his majesty should disapprove the choice of any person to be lord mayor, and signified the same under his sign manual, the citizens should, within one week, proceed to a new choice, and if his majesty should also disapprove of the second choice, that he might himself nominate the lord mayor for the year ensuing.

4. That the lord mayor and court of aldermen might, with the leave of his majesty, displace any alderman or other officer of the city.

5. That on the election of an alderman, if the court of aldermen did not approve of him, the ward should be obliged to chuse again; and if the second choice was also disapproved, that the court might themselves fill up the vacancy.

- And 6. That all justices of the peace, within the bounds of the city, should be appointed by the king's

commission; in other words, that no officer of the city should be ex-officio a justice.

"If these regulations are made," continued the lord keeper, "his majesty will not only stop this prosecution, but confirm your charters in all other respects. The term, my lord mayor, draws towards an end, and Midsummer is at hand, when some of the officers used to be chosen; whereof his majesty will reserve the approbation. It is, therefore, his majesty's pleasure, that you return to the city, and convene the common council, that he may speedily know your resolutions thereupon, and give his directions accordingly. That you may see the king is in earnest, and the matter is not capable of delay, I am commanded to let you know, that his majesty has given orders to his attorney general to enter up judgement on Saturday next, unless you prevent it by your compliance in all these particulars."

On the return of the deputation to the city, a court of common council was immediately summoned to consider of the king's propositions. The debates which it produced were warm and tempestuous. Numbers there still were devotedly attached to liberty, who declared, that they would rather sacrifice all that was dear to them, than consent to such slavish conditions. "If we must," said they, "sink under oppression; let us at least have the consolation left us, that it was by no act of our own, that we lost our birthright; that we became slaves not through choice, but by force." Other sentiments, unhappily, prevailed with a larger party of the council; and the degradation of the city was consummated, by the con-

sent of a majority of eighteen, to all that the king required.

Charles appears, however, to have disdained the triumph he had achieved; for to the surprise and mortification of the servile crowd, who had thus proclaimed themselves his willing slaves, he refused to set his seal to the arrangement, and preferred entering up the judgement which had been pronounced on the *quo warranto*. It has been generally supposed, that he followed this course from a wish to heap degradation and insult on the city; but the inference is superficial and improbable. Charles had no cause to be displeased with his own friends and partizans—with the majority who voted for submission to his terms—and it was on them alone all the ignominy of such treatment fell; while, to those who opposed concession, it must have been a source of just pride to witness the shame and confusion of its advocates. The circumstance which in all probability determined the conduct of Charles, was the smallness of the majority by which the acceptance of his propositions was carried; for while so numerous a party remained hostile to the pretensions of the crown, any attempt to conduct the government of the city, through the medium of the citizens themselves, must have been attended with perpetual embarrassment, and not altogether exempt from the chance of utter failure.

The judgement on the *quo warranto* having been entered up, the King, by a commission under the great seal, appointed the creatures of the crown who then filled the offices of mayor and sheriffs, to hold the same *during pleasure*; and nominated another individual of the same cast to be recorder, in

place of Sir George Treby, who, as counsel for the city, had advocated its privileges with honesty and zeal.

The fate of London spread a general alarm among the corporations throughout the country ; and in the vain hope of escaping the general sweep which they supposed to be meditated, by a spontaneous submission to the will of the King, most of them resigned their charters into his hands, with a request rather slightly expressed, that his majesty would be pleased to re-model them in such manner as he might in his wisdom think meet. The King accepted the surrenders, but in all the new charters which he gave, reserved to the crown the nomination to every place of power and profit, and for the few indifferent privileges which they contained, exacted large sums.

The Duke of York, by whose advice the gay and dissolute Charles chiefly acted in these oppressive measures, at length succeeded him in the throne ; and being now enabled to give full scope to his inclinations, he speedily filled up that measure of iniquity which led so deservedly to his own downfall, and to the final expulsion of his house.

One of the earliest victims of the tyranny of James the Second, was Alderman Cornish, who, in discharging his official duties, when Sheriff, in 1680, had particularly exerted himself in the detection and prosecution of what was called the Popish plot, the reality of which, his majesty, with a view to the introduction of popery, was now using every possible endeavour to discredit. Cornish was now accused of being concerned in the Ryehouse plot, for which Lord William Russel suffered, and on suborned testi-

mony, to which no man gave serious credit, was found, by a packed jury, guilty of high treason. That the vengeance inflicted on this ill-fated gentleman might inspire the greater terror in the community, the merciless Jefferies ordered that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, not at the usual place of execution, but *in front of his own door*, at the end of King-street, Cheapside. On the 23rd of October, 1685, the citizens beheld with horror and dismay this barbarous sentence literally carried into execution. James had no sooner glutted his monstrous revenge, than conscience appears to have begun her upbraidings. In the memoirs of his life, which Dr. Clarke has compiled from James's own papers, we read that "although Cornish had been a furious stickler in these times, and that no one doubted his guilt, yet when his majesty heard that one of the witnesses against him did not so positively reach to what is criminal in the case, he was troubled that the least formality in the law should have been infringed for his security, and therefore declared he was sorry he had suffered, and (marvellous compassion!) ordered his quarters to be taken down, and given to his relations to be decently buried." *Life of James*, vol. 1. p. 45. Never, perhaps, were guilt, confusion, and shame more apparent than in these few lines. At first, we are told "no one doubted his guilt," and next, that his majesty had "*heard* that one of the witnesses (as there were but two, the failure of one destroyed the whole case), did not so positively reach to what was *criminal* in the case." And so for want of this slight "*formality*," the mere want of evidence that he had done any thing "*crimi-*

nal," any thing meriting punishment at all, far less a fate so cruelly aggravated as that which befel him, is the conscience of the tyrant "*troubled!*" A succeeding age did more justice to the real character of this transaction, when it pronounced the execution of Alderman Cornish to be among the most odious cruelties of James's reign, restored his estate to his family, (for with all his compassion, James scrupled not to beggar the children whom his cruelties had made fatherless;) and condemned the witnesses against him to be lodged in remote prisons for the remainder of their lives.

When at length the nation rose, as one man, to expel their oppressor, James became as mean and pitiful in his concessions, as he had been proud and arrogant in his usurpations. Among other steps which he took to avert the impending ruin, he directed that intimation should be made to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city, that he had resolved (out of "*tender regard*" merely) to restore to them, by a new charter, all the ancient franchises and privileges of which they had been deprived by the decision on the *quo warranto*. He sent at the same time for Mr. William Kyffin, a merchant of great weight and eminence in the city, who still mourned the loss of two grandsons, who had been executed for the rebellion in the west, with circumstances of peculiar cruelty; and in the hope of conciliating him, by such honours as it was yet in his power to bestow, told him, that "he had put down his name as an alderman in the new charter." "Sir," answered Kyffin, "I am a very old man; I have withdrawn myself from all kind of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service, in such an

affair, to your majesty or the city.—“Besides, sir,” continued the old man, fixing his eyes stedfastly on the king, while the tears ran down his cheeks, “the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart which is still bleeding, and never will close but in the grave.”—(*Hughes's Letters.*)—O bitter reproach! O most just retribution! Not even the name of this venerated sufferer, however, nor the names of all the city sufferers from James's tyranny together, could have sufficed to obtain respect for a charter thus meanly tendered in the hour of desperation. The time for conciliation and compromise had forever passed. The citizens of London—the whole nation—saw safety only in revolution; James was forced to abdicate the throne which he had disgraced, without a single arm being raised in his defence; and the vacant diadem was transferred to the Prince of Orange and his spouse, on terms by which liberty and happiness were once more restored to the country; and the relative rights of sovereign and subject placed on a surer and more lasting basis than they had ever yet been.

One of the first acts of the first parliament of William the Third, was to do justice to the city of London. The judgement given on the *quo warranto*, by this was pronounced to be *illegal* and *arbitrary*; every right, charter, and indemnity, anciently conferred on the city, was restored; and all grants prejudicial to them, which had been made by the two last sovereigns, were declared null and void.

“Glorious” indeed this revolution deserves to be called by the citizens of London. Nearly a century and a half have since elapsed, and during all this

long period they have as freely enjoyed as they have spiritedly asserted the municipal privileges which it confirmed to them; equally protected by the genius of the laws and by the policy of the government; resting securely on past compacts, and disdaining all farther confirmations of what is not likely to be ever again infringed.

THE LORD MAYOR.

The office of lord mayor, as we have seen, was first recognized about the commencement of the 13th century. As early as 1202, we find it incidentally mentioned, in a writ of King John's, by which the guild or fraternity of weavers, supposed to be the oldest of all our corporations, were expelled from the city, at the request of "the *mayor* and citizens;" but the charter granted by the same monarch in 1214, empowering the citizens to elect a mayor annually out of their own body, and to continue him at their own pleasure in the situation, from year to year, must be considered as the foundation charter of the office.

According to this charter, the right of electing the mayor was vested in the citizens at large. After the common council was established, they appear for a time to have usurped the place of the general body of freemen; but returning to a juster sense of the rights of their constituents, they passed, in 1475, a declaratory act of council, by which the election to the office was declared to belong to the mayor, aldermen and common council, and the masters, wardens, and liverymen of the city companies, or, in other words, to the citizens at large, according to the fair acceptance of the terms, and thus it has ever since continued.

The right of election was also accompanied with the discretionary power of continuing the same individual in office from year to year ; and though, in a general sense, the exercise of such a power is greatly to be deprecated, there can be no doubt, either of its validity, or of the good uses to which it may occasionally be turned. The first lord mayor, Henry Fitz Alwyn, by continuing in office twenty-three years, must have been enabled to harmonize and identify it with the city usages, in a manner which could scarcely have been hoped for, had it passed during as many years through the hands of as many individuals. And Sir Thomas Pilkington, who held the civic sceptre at the revolution of 1688, by being continued in office for another year, saved the new and happy order of things from being disturbed by the party passions which all popular elections are so apt to stimulate and inflame.

The necessary qualifications for the office of lord mayor, are that the nominee shall be free of one of the twelve principal city companies ; have served the office of sheriff ; (whence the saying, that such an one *will be mayor before he is sheriff*, meaning deridingly that he is not fit to be either ;) and be, at the time of election, an alderman of one of the wards of the city. When a citizen has gone through this gradation of honours, he is presumed to be possessed of wealth and talent enough to fill, with credit to the city and himself, the post of its chief magistrate ; and it is only where notorious misfortunes have reduced an individual from affluence to poverty, that he ever loses his chance of succession to this highest of civic dignities.

The election takes place on Michaelmas day, at a

court of hustings held in the Guildhall, under the presidency of the sheriffs. All the aldermen, who have not passed the chair, but have served the office of Sheriff, are proposed successively in the order of their seniority, and the livery testify, by a show of hands, the degree of favour in which each is held. The sheriffs make a return to the court of aldermen, of the two members of their body, who have united the greatest number of suffrages ; and it remains with that court to determine on which of the two the election has fallen. The candidates are not, however, absolutely bound by the shew of hands ; for it is open to any of them or their friends to demand a poll, a privilege which has of late years been frequently exercised.

The lord mayor, though elected by the citizens, must be approved by the king, or as has been invariably the case since Henry III. in the 7th of his charters to the city, permitted the alternative, by the lord chancellor on his majesty's behalf. Although the crown, however, does possess this *veto*, there is no instance of its having exercised it, since the Revolution at least, and it may be now regarded as a matter of formal observance entirely.

The royal approbation having been obtained, the mayor elect, on the 8th of November, takes the oath of faithful administration, in presence of the citizens assembled in the Guildhall ; and next day he is finally installed into office, by the Barons of Exchequer, at Westminster.

The titles of "right honourable" and "lord" are generally believed to have been first given to the mayor of London by Edward III. in the last year of his reign, when a general subsidy was levied, in which

individuals were assessed according to their rank and condition in life. The chief magistrate of London was, on this occasion, styled the *Right Honourable the Lord Mayor*.

The prerogatives of the office are of great extent and importance.

The lord mayor, as the sovereign's immediate representative, takes precedence of every other subject within the limits of the city. At a grand entertainment given about 1463, by the sergeants at law, at Ely House, Holborn, the lord treasurer, Baron Ruthven, refusing to yield the most honourable place at table to the lord mayor, his lordship instantly withdrew, followed by the aldermen, sheriffs, and all the other citizens present on the occasion, who were well consoled for this sacrifice to etiquette by a sumptuous banquet, which their spirited chief gave them at his own expense. The treasurer's refusal, however, probably proceeded less from a disrespect for the lord mayor's civic pre-eminence, than from an erroneous notion of its limits. Ely House claimed at this period an exemption from the city's jurisdiction, and it was not till long after, that this claim was judicially determined to be unfounded.

Neither does this pre-eminence terminate with the sovereign's decease; nay, so independent of the crown are his functions, that when the king dies, the lord mayor becomes of even greater authority than before. The monarch is, in England, but the first magistrate of a free people, elected by the people; and on his demise the lord mayor of London, as the greatest functionary next to the king, whose power is derived from the same source—as the acknowledged

representative of a larger portion of the national will than any other officer of the state—takes the first place in the privy council, until the new sovereign is proclaimed, and at his coronation acts as chief butler. So far back have these usages obtained, that in the invitation which the privy council, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, sent to King James, to come and take possession of the vacant throne, we find the name of Sir Robert Lee, then lord mayor of London, standing first on the list.

As *civil* governor of the city, the lord mayor is the supreme head, without whose concurrence no act of the corporation is valid. He is, moreover, within the limits of the city and liberties, perpetual coroner and escheator, and chief justice in all commissions for trial of felony and gaol delivery. He is also, judge of all courts of wardmote for the election of aldermen; conservator of the river Thames and Medway; and perpetual commissioner in all affairs relating to the river Lea.

In the *military* government of the city, his lordship is first commissioner of the lieutenancy, which is invested with similar powers to those possessed by the lord lieutenants of counties.

The costume of the lord mayor is of a splendour becoming one filling so many high and dignified functions. His constant badge of office is a double chain of gold, or rich collar of SS. with a costly jewel appendant. On state occasions he is habited in a knotted gown, like that of the lord chancellor, or in one of crimson velvet. His more usual vesture is, in winter, a cloth scarlet gown with velvet hood; and in

summer, one of mazarine blue silk ; both richly furred.

In all processions where the mayor is officially present, the city's sword and mace are carried before him. By a grant of Edward III., the mace is permitted to be of gold or silver, a distinction conferred, we believe, on no city of England besides, except the archiepiscopal city of York. When on foot, his lordship's train is supported by a page. When he rides, it is in a state coach, of large dimensions and gorgeous appointments ; richly carved and gilt ; exhibiting in the pannels a variety of emblematic pictures, and drawn by four horses.

The person of the lord mayor is said to have been formerly held sacred and inviolable, but the instance chiefly relied on by historians scarcely warrants such an inference. It appears, that in the year 1399, Thomas Haunsart and John le Brewere, having forcibly resisted the mayor and sheriffs, in their endeavours to suppress a riot, were apprehended, tried at Guildhall, condemned to die, and beheaded in Cheapside ; but it is much more probable, that they were convicted for aiding and abetting the riot, than for any personal contempt of the chief magistrate. There seems, however, to have been an exercise of a vigour beyond the law in the death of these two men, since Edward III., on his return from France, deemed it necessary to shield the city magistracy, by letters patent, exempting them from being afterwards questioned for their conduct.

A more unequivocal proof of the respect in which the chief magistrate's person was anciently held, oc-

curred in 1479, when Richard Byfield was fined fifty pounds for presuming to kneel too close to his lordship at St. Erkenwald's shrine! A dreadful plague, however, was raging at the time.

The lord mayor is allowed a numerous suite of officers, for the support of his state and dignity; a chaplain, remembrancer, sword bearer, huntsman, (called the common hunt,) serjeant carvers, serjeants of the chamber, &c. In former times he had also his poet laureat and merry andrew, to assist in the production of pageants on great occasions; but since these shows have gone out of fashion, neither poetry nor foolery appears to be any longer in request in city halls. On the list of lord mayors' laureates we meet with no less a name than that of "Rare Ben;" yet so unworthily had his merits been appreciated, that in a letter of that bard's which is still extant, he complains of the corporation for withdrawing from him their "*chandlery* pension for verjuice and mustard." The pension, however, was not quite so *chandlery*, for it amounted to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a sum which may at least stand comparison with what has been at any time allowed to other laureates of higher degree. It was much more than was allowed even to the king's laureate in Ben Jonson's days; for, till 1630, the pension was but a hundred marks, without a sip of the canary.

LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

When the citizens of London were for pageants as "famous and renowned in foreign nations," as for "their faith, wealth, and valour," and so an old

author (Gaston) assures us they once were, the installation of their chief magistrate into office, used to furnish occasion for the proudest of these triumphs ; and even now, when the taste for such exhibitions may be said to have nearly vanished, the *Lord Mayor's Show* is still the gayest of city spectacles, though at best but a faded memorial of the " great doings " of former times.

Previous to the fifteenth century, the lord mayor used to proceed by land to Westminster, to be sworn into office by the king, or, as latterly ordered, by the barons of exchequer ; but in 1453, Sir John Norman introduced the custom of going by water. That he meant this aquatic excursion to serve as an emblem of the lord mayor's sovereignty over the Thames, in the same manner as the Dukes of Venice used to wed the ocean, though sometimes averred by city poets, we dare not historically affirm ; yet it is certain, that the mariners of the Thames felt so highly the honour conferred on their favourite element by Sir John, that they composed a song of triumph on the occasion, in which he thus figures as the hero :—

Row thy boat, Norman,
Row to thy *Lemman*, &c.

Meaning by " *lemman*," as it would seem, his fair one or bride (the Thames). As good a reason, perhaps, for the custom, as any that has yet been assigned, would be, that by going by water the citizens still keep within their own jurisdiction, (for they are conservators of the Thames,) and only encroach on that of Westminster in the small space from the water-side to Westminster-hall ; so that, in

the performance of their first civic duty, they almost entirely avoid the chance of interruption, through any neglect or disrespect of the authorities of the rival city.

In 1501, Sir John Shaw revived the custom of riding to Westminster-hall; and for about two centuries, equestrian cavalcades were the fashion. In the reign of Queen Anne, the long-neglected barges were recalled into use, and ever since the procession has been by water. In recent times there was an instance of a lord mayor choosing to *return* by land; but such deviations, unless resorted to occasionally, for the purpose of showing the mere existence of the right, are not perhaps to be commended.

The pageants which were wont to be exhibited on the lord mayor's day, continued in use till as late a period as the revolution; but were we to judge of them from the taste then displayed, we should be inclined to say that the time for laying them down had arrived long before. On the second mayoralty of Sir Thomas Pilkington, (1691), the pageant, as described by Taubman, the city laureate, (Taubman, alas! forgotten name!) "consisted of a spacious wilderness, haunted and inhabited with all manner of wild beasts and birds, of various shapes and colours, even to beasts of prey, as wolves, bears, panthers, leopards, sables, and beavers; likewise dogs, cats, foxes, and rabbits; which, tost up now and then into a balcony, *fell oft upon the company's heads, and by them tost again into the crowd*, afforded great diversion; melodious harmony likewise allayed the fury of the wild beasts, who were continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling to the music." Who could have imagined, that that most odious of all the vulgar

sports, which at the present day occasionally disgrace our popular assemblages, should have had so respectable an origin? The dogs and cats, tossed to and fro, were *live* ones, however, in the days of Sir Thomas Pilkington; and it is something to say in favour of the present age, that even the mob is more refined than to be guilty of such cruelty. Sir Thomas was a member of the *Skinners Company*, and it was with the view of doing honour to his craft, that this barbarous pageant of wild beasts was devised.

It would be doing injustice, however, to the ancient pageants of London, to form an opinion of them from this specimen. From the various printed accounts of them which are preserved, (some of such rarity, as to bear a price at the rate of two and three guineas *a leaf*,) they appear to have been at times equally distinguished for their propriety and magnificence.

Such were those exhibited in the year immediately preceding the revolution, on the inauguration of Sir John Shorter. "The pageants," says a cotemporary account of them, as abridged by Mr. Hone, in his *Ancient Mysteries*, "were four in number, and exceedingly splendid; and the principal character in each, delivered a versified address to the lord mayor. One of the pageants, a ship, the *Unity*, of London, a merchant adventurer to Norway and Denmark, was an honour paid to the lord mayor by his company, on account of his lordship's mercantile occupation. This ship, laden with all sorts of timber for ship and house building, and architecture, represented his lordship's way of traffic. It measured in length from poop to the stern *an hundred and forty-five* feet, and

in height *forty-five* feet from the water to the stern, (and was exhibited, it will be observed, on land.) She carried twenty-two guns, with ancients, pendants, streamers, flags, tackling, anchors, and all sorts of rigging appertaining to a merchantman of that burden. On board were a captain and his mate, a gunner and his mate, a boatswain and a full complement of men, care being taken to assign to each man his proper station ; some at the main tack ; others at the braces, others at the howlines ; some climbing up the ladders to the main-top, and others sitting across the yard arm. The mariners were dressed in Indian stripes, and ragged yarn caps, blue, white, and red. The captain, dressed in Indian silk, with a rich fur cap, being placed in the stern with several trumpets, on the boatswain giving a signal by his whistle, accosted his lordship with a speech." Another of the shows on this occasion, called " the Goldsmiths' Pageant," was equally imposing, and must have been of amazing size. " It was a hieroglyphic of the company, consisting of a spacious laboratory or workhouse, containing several conveniences and distinct apartments for the different operations and artificers with forges, anvils, hammers, and all instruments proper for the mystery of the goldsmiths. In the middle of the frontispiece, on a rich golden chair of state, sat St. Dunstan, the ancient patron and tutelar guardian of the company. He was attired, to express his prelatical dignity and canonization, in a robe of fine lawn, with a cope over it of shining cloth of gold, reaching to the ground. He wore a golden mitre, beset with precious stones, and bore in his left hand a golden crosier, and in his right, a pair of goldsmiths' tongs.

Behind him were Orpheus and Amphion playing on melodious instruments." And in this, by the bye, there was a slight deviation from historical propriety, for it was one of the marvellous faculties of this saint and magician, that he could make musical instruments play of themselves.

" St. Dunstan's harp fast by the wall
Upon a pin did hang-a ;
The harp itself, with by and all,
Untouch'd by hand did twang-a.

" Standing more forward, was the Cham of Tartary and the Grand Sultan, who being " conquered by the christian harmony, seemed to sue for reconciliation." At the steps of the prelatical throne was a goldsmith's forge and furnace, with fire crucibles and gold, and a workman blowing the bellows. On each side was a large press of gold and silver plate. Towards the front, were shops of artificers and jewellers, all at work with anvils, hammers, and instruments for enamelling, beating out gold and silver plate ; on a step below St. Dunstan, sat an assay master, with his trial balance and implements. There were two apartments for the processes of digrossing, flatting, and drawing gold and silver wire, and the fining, melting, smelting, refining, and separating of gold and silver, both by fire and water. Another apartment contained a forge, with miners bearing spades, pickaxes, &c. for sinking shafts and making adits. The lord mayor having approached and viewed the curiosity of the pageants, was addressed in a speech by St. Dunstan," in the course of which, the saint thus endeavoured to bespeak the fa-

vour of the citizens, for the Act of Indulgence, under the mask of which James II. was at this time endeavouring to introduce popery into the country.

“ These pontifical ornaments I wear,
Are types of rule, and order all the year ;
In these white robes, none can a fault descry,
Since all have liberty as well as I !
Nor need you fear, the shipwreck of your cause,
Your loss of Charles, or the penal laws ;
Indulgence granted by your bounteous prince,
Makes for that loss, too great a recompense,” &c.

The magnitude of such pageants may seem now incredible ; yet structures of equal bulk are described on other occasions, and that they were common in those days of pomp and show, is beyond all doubt.

After this species of spectacle had fallen almost for more than half a century into disuse, the common council were all at once seized with a returning fondness for it ; and in 1760, came to a resolution, recommending that Pageants should be again exhibited for the entertainment of their majesties on lord mayor's day. The recommendation does not appear, however, to have been carried into effect, nor can it well be a subject of regret, that the city magistrates found then, as they have ever since done, more rational methods of manifesting their wealth and spirit.

The manner of celebrating the lord mayor's day at present, is still sufficiently splendid to make it an object of attraction to the multitude. About noon, the lord mayor elect, the past lord mayor, the aldermen, sheriffs, and other official dignitaries, after attending divine service at the parish

church of St. Lawrence Jewry, proceed in their carriages, from the Guildhall to the Three Crane Stairs, where they embark on board a magnificent state barge, provided for the use of the chief magistrate, and being joined by the different city companies, in barges of their own, and all more or less gorgeous, the aquatic procession moves forward to Westminster, with bands of music playing, and flags and pendants flying from every mast. When the ceremony in the Court of Exchequer has been gone through, the civic fleet returns to Blackfriars Bridge, where the mayor and citizens land, and are received by the Armourers company, which takes the lead in the procession back to the Guildhall. The armourers are generally preceded by two or three persons on horseback, in different sorts of showy armour; and these form now by far the most attractive part of the spectacle. The other companies follow on foot; the mayor and sheriffs in their state coaches; the aldermen, and other persons of distinction, in their private carriages; and these, with their numerous officers and attendants, in their various motley wear, make up what is now called the *Lord Mayor's Show*.

At Guildhall a sumptuous dinner is provided at the expense of the lord mayor and the sheriffs, which is generally graced with the presence of some of the princes of the blood and ministers of the crown, the foreign ambassadors, and a number of the most distinguished nobility and gentry. Should it be the first lord mayor's day after a coronation, it has been customary for the sovereign himself to honour the banquet by partaking of it. The number of persons invited is seldom less than twelve hundred, and the usual cost of

the feast is about 3,000*l.* When the king is present the expense is much greater. The entertainment given to George the Second cost 4,890*l.*; and that to George the Third, which was of singular magnificence, 6,898*l.* All the companies give besides sumptuous entertainments at their respective halls, which are supposed to cost 10,000*l.* more.

The festivities of the day, at Guildhall, are concluded by a grand ball, at which the lady mayoress presides. Among the entertainments anciently provided for this part of the evening, the lord mayor's fool had a very singular feat to perform. He was bound, by the tenure of his office, to leap in his motley robes into a large bowl of custard, a jest so exactly suited to the taste of former times, that it was not easily made stale by repetition. Shakespeare alludes to this ridiculous custom, in his comedy of "*All's well that ends well*," when he makes Lafeu say to Parolles, "You have made shift to run into't, boots and spurs and all, like him that leapt into the custard."

Ben Jonson, who, during his connexion with the city, no doubt, often saw this eccentric feat performed, also notices it in his comedy of the "*Devil's an Asse*," as not confined to the lord mayor's day.

"He may, perchance, in tail of a sheriff's dinner,
Skip with a rim o'the table, from new nothing,
And take his *Almain* leap into a custard,
Shall make my lady mayoress and her sisters
Laugh all their hoods over their shoulders."

From a report made by a committee of inquiry, in 1810, it appeared that the annual expenses of the chief magistrate amount to about 12,000*l.*; and that

his official receipts, including a sum allowed to him by the city, and the value of some appointments in his gift, did not exceed 6500*l.* The common council, on receiving this report, voted an additional allowance of 1500*l.* per annum.

THE MANSION HOUSE.

For a long course of years, the chief magistrate of London was without any fixed place of residence, for exercising the duties and maintaining the state and dignity of his office. When his own private mansion did not afford the accommodation requisite, the halls of some of the larger companies used to be hired for the purpose at a very considerable expense. In July 1734, the common council came to the prudent resolution of appropriating the fines, paid into the chamber for not serving the office of sheriff, to the purpose of erecting a suitable mansion house, for the special use of the Lord Mayor for the time being. At this period there was not less than 18,000*l.* in the chamberlain's hands, which had been derived in this easy way; and it was ordered, that this sum should in the mean time be invested in the three per cent. annuities, and that the growing interest thereon should be added to the capital every year, till the money was required for the proposed building.

The site fixed upon, was that anciently occupied by *the Stocks Market*, a structure for which the City was indebted to the liberality of Henry de Walleis, who was lord mayor from 1281 to 1285. It had been selected as a market place, because of its being in the midst of the city; and was now on the same account

thought the best site that could be chosen for the residence of the chief magistrate. The market, or rather the market buildings, formed part of the London Bridge estates, and the committee for the erection of the mansion house had to pay for the purchase of them £3900. When they were taken down, the ground on which they stood was found to be so full of springs, that it was deemed necessary to erect the new structure wholly upon piles. From the delay which this circumstance occasioned, although the corner stone was laid on the 25th October, 1739, the building was not completed till the year 1753, in the mayoralty of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who was the first chief magistrate that made it his residence. The total expense of the erection, including the purchase money of the old buildings, was 42,638*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*

The mansion house, which was built from a design by Mr. George Dance, is a spacious and stately edifice, but of rather ponderous aspect. A bold flight of steps leads to a fine portico in front, composed of corinthian columns, which spring lightly from a massy rustic basement, and are surmounted by a pediment; the tympanum of which exhibits a clever piece of sculpture in alto relievo, by Taylor, emblematic of the dignity and opulence of the City of London, and the various virtues by which they have been established and are maintained. The general body of the building presents two tiers of lofty windows, and over these an attic story surmounted by a ballustrade; the cornices too are rich and deep, and supported by corinthian pilasters. Were nothing more presented to the eye than the parts we have now described, the edifice, though lowly situated and too closely sur-

rounded with buildings, could not fail to be pronounced elegant and complete ; but viewing it from the front, we behold, heaped as it were on the roof, and stretching crossways along the front, an ark-like pile of building, which throws an air of most clumsy incongruity over the whole. When we examine this supplementary pile, we find that it is occasioned by the raising of the roof in one part a story higher, in order to give a loftier ceiling to a ball-room, and then it can be likened to nothing better than the hump of the dromedary. Originally, there was a corresponding erection or hump towards the back of the building, but it was taken down a few years ago. Its companion cannot follow it too soon.

The interior is laid out with taste and judgment. Entering by the great door, you pass through a spacious saloon into what is called the Egyptian Hall, (for what reason however, it would require Egyptian cunning to divine, for there is nothing of that character about it,) a magnificent banquetting room, about ninety feet long from east to west, (occupying the entire width of the house,) and sixty broad, with a lofty concave roof displayed into compartments and richly ornamented. At the sides of the saloon, there are also a justice room, a sword bearer's room, and a very handsome room called Wilkes's parlour. The area above the roof of the Egyptian Hall being left open, the apartments of the upper stories form a surrounding quadrangle, with galleries of communication. The principal of these apartments are the ball room, which is about the same length as the Egyptian Hall, but considerably narrower ; a withdrawing room, and chief bed room,

which is provided with a state bed of even regal splendour.

THE REMEMBRANCER.

The city remembrancer is the lord mayor's incnitor; a part of his duty being to remind his lordship of the days on which he has to proceed with the aldermen on city business. He is also a guardian of the city rights, and is appointed to attend the sittings of parliament, to see that the privileges of the city are not infringed, or its interests injured by the proceedings of the legislature.

SWORD BEARER.

The sword is an emblem of authority as well as of justice, and is borne before the lord mayor, to express that they are both united in his office. A writer on armoury, who distinguishes how swords of state should be borne before persons of different ranks, says, that "the city sword bearer must carry the sword upright, the hilt being holden under his bulk, and the blade directly up the midst of his breast, and between his brows."

The sword bearer has his table at the expense of the lord mayor, to whom one thousand pounds a year is allowed for the purpose, exclusive of a sum of money for the residence of the sword bearer.

ALDERMEN.

The division of the city into wards, and the appointment of aldermen to govern them, were un-

doubtedly, as before observed, of Saxon origin ; but it would seem not to have been long before the office assumed a character somewhat foreign to the genius of Alfred's institutions. So wise a prince could not have intended that an office of this importance should be filled without any regard to merit or capacity ; and yet almost the first thing we read of the office is, that it might be acquired by any one, either by inheritance or purchase. So much, indeed, was this the case, that the wards were called after their respective proprietors, and changed names as they changed ; thus the ward of Castle Baynard was once called Simon Hadestock's ward ; the ward of Cheap, Henry de Frowycke's ward ; the Tower ward, William de Nadestoke's ward, &c.

The abuses which necessarily arose from this proprietary system, led to repeated efforts on the part of the citizens to change the tenure of the office ; and at length from one of those coalitions between the crown and the people, which are not uncommon in the history of revolutions, the right of property was in the reign of Edward II. wrested from the aldermen, and the citizens of each ward were declared to have the power of electing annually the alderman who was to preside over it. So frequent an exercise, however, of the elective privilege, had also its peculiar inconveniences ; and in 1394, it was ordered by parliament that in future the aldermen should " continue in office during life or good behaviour," and so the law still continues.

In elections for aldermen, the right of voting is confined to freemen who are resident householders of the ward paying scot and lot, and an annual rent of not less than 10*l.* a-year.

It is not necessary, however, that the person elected should be a resident of the ward. Citizens of eminence often become candidates for the aldermanship of wards, with which they have previously had no particular connexion. Should a person decline the office of alderman when elected to it, (which is, however, rarely the case) he may be fined; there is even a precedent for imprisonment.

Each alderman has the active direction or *wardenship* of the affairs of his ward, under the general superintendence of the lord mayor; and is assisted by one or more deputies, appointed by himself from among the common councilmen for the ward. Every ward, too, has its court of wardmote or common hall, with which the alderman may advise on all matters touching the common welfare.

The privilege of acting as magistrates in the city was formerly confined to the lord mayor, the recorder, the aldermen who had passed the chair, and the nine senior aldermen below it; but in the year 1741, George II. by letters patent empowered all the aldermen of London without distinction, to act in future as justices of the peace within the city and its liberties.

It was anciently the custom for the magistrates of the city of London, to have posts painted and ornamented, set up at their doors, on which the royal proclamations were fixed. Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and several others of our old dramatists, notice this practice. These posts were usually newly painted on entering into office, a custom which is alluded to by the satirical Bishop of Salisbury, when in his "*Microcosmographia*," he says of an alderman, "His discourse is commonly the annals

of his mayoralty and what good government there was in the days of his gold chain, though the *door-posts* were the only things that suffered reformation."

The dignity of alderman, like that of the lord mayor, had once more than ordinary protection ; and in those turbulent times, when personal feeling and resentment usurped the place of law and justice, it is recorded that a citizen was imprisoned and his right hand cut off for assaulting an alderman. Resistance to the authority of an alderman was commonly punishable with the loss of freedom, and imprisonment for a year and a day.

The costume of the aldermen is a cloth gown of violet or scarlet, lined with silk or furred according to the season. On one occasion, an alderman who neglected to line his cloak according to the established mode, was condemned by his brethren to a summary punishment, amusingly characteristic of the claims of this respectable body to the character which Shakespeare has given of them, as being " with fat capon lined." They decreed that the whole court should go and *breakfast with him*.

WARDS OR ALDERMANRIES.

The city and liberties are divided into twenty-six wards or aldermanries ; which, considered with respect to the number of members they respectively return to the common council, (excepting Bridge Ward without, which has no representatives), rank in the order in which we shall here take notice of them. The

number of councillors for each ward is denoted by the figures within brackets.

The wards of Farringdon within and without formed originally but one ward, the aldermanry of which was purchased by William Faryngdon, goldsmith, and sheriff in 1279, and remained in his family for upwards of eighty years. The tenure by which it was held, was the presentation at Easter of a slip of gilliflower, then a flower of considerable rarity. In consequence of a great increase in the population of this portion of the city, it was, in the 17th of Richard II. divided into two wards, and a separate alderman assigned to each. Farringdon Within, (17 com. coun.) comprehends that part of the city which lay immediately within the walls on the western side. Its locality is well marked by a small stone monument in Pannier-alley, representing a young Bacchus seated astride a pannier or basket, with this inscription underneath.

WHEN YE HAVE SOUGHT
THE CITY ROUND,
YET STILL THIS IS
THE HIGHEST GROUND,
AVGVST THE 27,
1688.

Farringdon Without, (16) includes all that part of the city which lay without the walls to the westward, as far as Temple Bar. Till 1484, Serjeants Inn was called "Faryngdon's Inn."

Bridge Ward Within (15) is of extensive limits; and includes the spot "Where London's column, pointing to the skies," does not lie so utterly as

Pope's lines have made it the fashion to believe. It was one of those wards entirely destroyed by the fire ; it takes its name from London bridge, the whole of which from the Southwark end it includes.

Bishopsgate Ward derives its name from the gate which formerly divided it, and which is supposed to have been constructed by some of the earlier bishops of London. Though the gate no longer exists, yet the boundary is still marked by the appellations of Bishopsgate Within and Bishopsgate Without. The buildings in this ward are among the most ancient in the metropolis, the great fire not having extended its ravages far in this direction, and not at all to the parts *without* the gate. During the course of more than a century, every alderman who has presided over this ward has served the office of lord mayor.

Bread-street Ward, (12) which is nearly in the centre of the city, takes its title from the bread market, which formerly stood on the present site of Bread-street: for, in ancient times, the bakers of London were not allowed to sell bread in their shops or houses, but only in the open market. At a still earlier period, this ward appears to have been the domain of that notable hero of fable, Gerard the Giant. In Gerard's hall (now occupied as an inn) there was kept, for a long time, an immense fir pole, some thirty or forty feet long, with which this redoubtable monster used to sally forth to battle, as also a ladder by which he occasionally permitted the pigmy order of mankind, to ascend to the top of his faulchion, to take a bird's-eye view of the metropolis! Stowe has made sad havoc with this pretty story. "Gerard's hall," he says, "is a cor-

ruption of *Gisor's hall*, once the property of John Gisors, mayor of London in 1311 ; the giant's fault-chion, nothing but an old Maypole ; and the ladder, the same which was used to deck the said Maypole, when erected on the green.

Cheap Ward (12) takes its name from the Saxon word *chepe*, a market ; applied to our present Cheapside, which was formerly called " West-chepe," to distinguish it from another market in East-cheap. Before the stream, called Wallbrook, which intersects this ward, was covered in, it is said, that barges used to be towed up it, from the Thames, as far as Bucklersbury. The *Standard or Cross, in Cheap*, is familiar to the readers of history, as the ancient place for executions within the city.

Tower-street, Broad-street, and Cripplegate Wards hold the same rank in the city representation as those of Bread-street and Cheap, each returning twelve members to the common council.

Langbourn Ward (10) takes its name from a brook which formerly ran from Fenchurch-street, where it broke out, to the Thames. The stream spread so much near the head of the spring that the neighbourhood received the name of " Fenny-about," and this circumstance is still perpetuated in Fenchurch-street.

Castle Baynard Ward (10) takes its title from the ancient castle of that name, which stood on the site of the present Canon wharf, and was originally built by William Baynard, a soldier of fortune, who accompanied the Norman William to England. It passed afterwards into the hands of the Fitzwalters, who occupy a prominent part in the early history of London. (See *Account of the Great Charter.*) They

possessed in virtue of this castellary the honour of being hereditary standard bearers of the city. When in times of war the banner of St. Paul was unfurled, it was consigned with great ceremony by the lord mayor and aldermen to the hands of the knight of castle Baynard, at the great west door of St. Paul's, the mayor addressing him in these words :

“ We give you, as to our Banneret of fee in this city, the banner of this city to bear and govern to the honour and profit of this city, to your power.”

Attached to the castle there was a soke or liberty subject to its jurisdiction, and which, among other privileges, had one of some peculiarity in a barbarous age. When any person of this soke incurred the penalty of high treason, he was not executed in the usually horrid manner, but tied to a post in the Thames, during “ two ebbings and two flowings of the water.” This soke, with the ground on which the castle itself stood, forms the present ward.

In 1428, the castle was burnt nearly to the ground, and was rebuilt by the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who appears to have come into the place (though in what manner is not recorded) of the Fitzwalter family. At the death and attainder of this prince it was made a royal residence by Henry the Sixth, and afterwards by the usurper Richard III. —In Shakespeare's Tragedy of Richard the Third, where Gloster sends Buckingham to Guildhall to see his aspiring suit well urged, and bring the lord mayor and aldermen to him, he says, “ If you thrive well, bring them to *Baynard's* castle, where you shall find me well accompanied, with reverend fathers, and well learned bishops.” Henry the Seventh ex-

pended considerable sums on the repairing and beautifying of the castle, and frequently lodged here. A grant of it was afterwards made by the crown to the Earl of Pembroke, and here, in 1553, the council, under the guidance of that nobleman, assembled, and proclaimed Mary of hated memory, Queen, in opposition to that mildest and gentlest of usurpers, the beautiful but unfortunate Lady Jane Gray.

Castle Baynard was entirely destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but before that had become greatly dilapidated.

Billingsgate Ward, (10) which "the Ladies of the British Fishery," as Addison has humourously designed them, have rendered of such notoriety, boasts of having had for alderman that great *scolder*, the patriotic and intrepid Beckford.

Vintry Ward (9) comprises a part of the north bank of the river Thames, where the merchants of Bordeaux formerly bonded and sold their wines.

Dowgate Ward (8) takes its name from *dwyr-gate*, the ancient water gate, which is by Stowe supposed to have been the Watling-street ferry across the Thames. The patriotic Sir John Barnard was alderman of this ward.

Candlewick (now Cannon) street, the name of which is preserved in a ward of the city (8), was formerly much occupied by wax and tallow chandlers, trades of some importance in London, until the year 1548, when, by order of Henry VIII., the burning of candles in the church on Candlemas' day was ordered to be discontinued.

Cordwainer's Ward (8) derives its title from Cordwainer's-street, (now Bow-lane), which formerly was

a great mart for curriers, shoemakers, and other workers in leather.

Walbrook Ward, (8) was so called from the brook which intersected the city wall at Dowgate, and flowed into the Thames.

Aldersgate Ward (8) takes its name from one of the oldest gates of the city, and like that of Bishopsgate, includes streets and lanes both within and without the walls.

Cornhill Ward (6) took its title from the corn market, formerly held in this street, or rather in the church-yard of St. Michael's, adjacent to it.

Aldgate Ward (6) consists of a soke, which was originally attached to the gate of that name, on the east of the city. When Matilda, or Maude, the queen of Henry I., founded the priory of the Holy Trinity, called Christ Church, on the ruins of which the present St. James's Duke's-place church, was erected, she assigned for its support, with the consent of the king, her husband, the port and soke of Aldgate. The priors do not appear, however, to have ever claimed, or been admitted to a place among the magistracy of the city, on account of this soke-manry ; but having afterwards obtained a grant of the *Knighten Gulde*, a lay corporation, since better known by the name of *Portsoken Ward*, the prior of Christ Church became, in virtue of that knighten gulde, an alderman of the city. When he sat or rode with the aldermen, he doffed his spiritual habiliments, and wore the costume of his *lay* brethren. Eustacius, who was prior in 1264, having some scruples about this occasional divestiture, appointed Theobald Fitz Jonis to be the alderman of Portsoken Ward,

under him. It is in allusion to this duality of office that in the inscription over the door on the north side of the chancel of St. James Duke's-place church, "consecrated," as we are told, "to the *eternizing* the memories" of the worthies by whom it was erected, the parish clerk (for who else could pen such strains?) thus proceeds:

"And since I touch antiquity so near,
Observe what notes remarkable appear;
An *Alderman* of London was, at first,
The *Prior* of this church; falling to th' worst,
'Tis new raised by th' encouragement and care,
Of a lord mayor of London, *which is rare.*"

Queenhithe Ward (9) takes its name from the harbour of Queenhithe, which was formerly a principal place for loading and unloading goods, and was so called, because the customs payable there were assigned by King John, to Eleanor his queen, and to her successors in the queenly dignity, for their own separate use. The ground, for a considerable space around the harbour, formed a soke which was governed by the queen's bailiffs. In the time of Henry III. it came into the hands of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who conveyed it for an annuity to the mayor and commonalty of London.

Coleman Street Ward (6) is supposed to derive its name from a family of the name of Coleman, who lie buried in the church of St. Margaret, Lothbury. Stowe and his continuators suppose the first of the Colemans to have been a builder; but is it not as probable that he might have purchased the Alder-

manry, and given his name to it as William Faryngdon did to the wards of Farringdon?

Portsoken Ward (5) is situated beyond the ancient city walls, and is of considerable length, extending from Aldgate to Whitechapel Bars, and from Bishopsgate to the river. The origin of the ward of Portsoken, which signifies "franchise at the gate," is by Stowe ascribed to the age of King Edgar. He relates, that thirteen knights or soldiers, who were well-beloved by the king for services they had done, besought from him, the grant of a portion of land on the east of the city, which had been left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants "by reason of too much servitude," with "the liberty of a guild for ever." The king granted their request on condition, "that each knight should victoriously accomplish three combats; one above the ground, one under ground, and the third in the water; and after this, at a certain day, in East Smithfield, that they should run with spears against all comers; all which," adds Stow, "was gloriously performed. The king accordingly incorporated the knights, by the name of the *Knigheten Gualde*." The southern boundary of the ward was fixed in a manner as singular as the conditions on which the whole was granted; it was to extend as far into the Thames as a horseman, riding into the river at low water, could throw his spear. This grant of Edgar to the knights, was confirmed by Edward the Confessor, and afterwards, by William Rufus, and Henry the First. During the reign of the latter monarch, in 1115, the brethren of this guild, who were then called "Burgesses of London," gave the entire Soke and its appurtenances to the church of the Holy Trinity,

within Aldgate; and the whole possessions of the guild were afterwards by royal charter confirmed to the brotherhood of that church, the Prior of which was invested with great ceremony, and allowed to govern the ward, and exercise the duties and participate in the honours of an alderman of London. Since the suppression of the monasteries, however, the ward of Portsoken has had a lay governor, in the person of its alderman.

Lime-street ward, (4) though without a church, or a complete street, runs through several parishes. It is so small, and used to be thought of so little account, though now the seat of as much wealth as any ward of the city, that, in 1371, when the city was assessed in 635*l.* 12*s.* for the war in France, the proportion required from Lime-street ward, was only thirty-four shillings. It is generally said to have derived its name from being a place for "the making and selling of *lime*;" but the conjecture, we suspect, has no other authority than the identity of the name. The circumstance of the ward's running stragglingly through so many parishes, is opposed to such an origin; besides, lime was not a commodity in such general use five centuries ago, as to give a name to a market. May the ward not have had as sylvan a parentage as the village of *Limehouse*, which is a corruption of *Limehurst*, the Saxon term for a *grove of lime trees*? It is not more unlikely, that the manor of Leadenball, which lay chiefly in this ward, should of old have boasted of its limes, than that that present sink of filth and wretchedness, Petticoat-lane, should once have been, as thus described by Stowe; with "hedge rows and elm trees on both sides," and

“pleasant fields to walk, insomuch that gentlemen used to have houses there for the air.”

Bassishaw Ward is the smallest ward in the city; its name is a corruption of *Basinges-haugh* or *hall*, a large mansion, formerly belonging to the Basinges, a family, as Stowe assures us, of “great antiquity and renown.” In the reign of Edward III., Basinghall became the residence of Thomas Bakewell, who gave it his name; and in the succeeding reign, it was purchased by the city, together with another house, two shops, two gardens, and other appurtenances in the adjoining parishes of St. Laurence and St. Michael, for the small sum of fifty pounds. It was converted by the city, into an exclusive market for the sale of woollen cloth, under the name of ‘Blackwell-hall,’ and its privileges secured by severe penalties. The whole of Bassishaw Ward is comprised in the two precincts of Basinghall-street.

Bridge Ward without, includes the principal part of the borough and liberties of Southwark, and a much larger population than any of the other wards; it gives also the title of “Father to the City,” to the alderman who rules over it; and yet it is totally unrepresented in the court of common council. Southwark, although so long *annexed* to London, has never been incorporated with it; its civil government is managed by a bailiff appointed by the court of mayor and aldermen, and the office of alderman being a mere titular sinecure, is always given to the senior alderman of the city, as the best entitled to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate*.

COURT OF LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN.

The court of lord mayor and aldermen, besides having the power of appointing the recorder and several other city officers, and suspending them for misconduct, possesses also a considerable portion of the executive authority, for by this court all leases and other instruments that pass the city seal are executed.

The court of aldermen is not an open court, but its proceedings on political questions, or any others of general interest, invariably transpire; and, indeed, while the press possesses as it does at present the eyes of Argus, with the hands and heads of Briareus, it is difficult to conceal any subject of importance from the public.

SHERIFFS.

According to the institutions of Alfred, the sheriffs throughout the whole kingdom were elected annually by the community at large; in the counties by the freeholders; and in London by the citizens, without distinction. This privilege is said by most historians to have prevailed "generally till the corrupt and arbitrary reign of Edward the Second, when, among other means of increasing the influence of the court, the right of electing to this office was taken from the people, and vested in the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and the judges." (*Letter to the Livery*, 1808.)—It is certain, however, that long before this period, the privilege had been very commonly usurped

by the crown. The freeholders of Middlesex, for example, were arbitrarily deprived of *their* right of appointing their own sheriff, when Henry the First transferred it in perpetuity to the corporation of London; (see Annexation of the sheriffalty of Middlesex;) and the citizens of London themselves paid to King Stephen one hundred marks of silver, for the right of nominating the sheriffs for the city and county of London, a fact which necessarily implies, that that right had been previously resumed by the crown. When the more general usurpation of Edward the Second took place, the sheriffalties of London and Middlesex were the only ones exempted, from the greater respect probably, which is but too commonly paid to rights bought with money, than to others founded in mere reason and justice.

For a considerable time, the right of voting for sheriff remained, as at first, with the general body of the citizens; but this, we are told, was found to be too frequently attended with "tumult, disturbances, and uproars." The course of election did not, we dare say, run quite so smooth, as mayors and aldermen, desirous of having every thing their own way, might desire. A change to a more comfortable order of things was desired, and as an apology for infringing the popular privilege, hard names were given to what was most probably only a fair and wholesome exercise of the elective franchise. The mayor began accordingly with summoning to the meeting for the election of sheriffs, only a few of the "wealthiest" and "discreetest" men out of each ward; "sometimes more, sometimes less." This select number, he was pleased to style "the commonalty," and with

their assent, and that of his brother aldermen, he nominated whom he pleased to be sheriffs. The citizens made several attempts to break in upon this snug mode of management ; but the magistrates being countenanced and supported by the court, were enabled to persevere in it through several reigns. At first, the number of select citizens summoned from each ward was only two ; but in the 6th of Edward II. we find, that it had been increased to twelve. This increase led, however, to some apprehensions for the stability of the system, and the number was again reduced in most of the wards ; in some to ten and eight, and in the smaller wards to six.

The commonalty of London having at length found favour at court, by the services which they rendered in elevating Edward IV. to the throne, that monarch so far restored the election of sheriffs to its ancient footing, as to direct that it should in future be vested in the mayor, aldermen, common council, and liverymen of the different companies ; and thus it has remained to the present day. A mere freeman of London is excluded from voting ; he must have taken up his livery to be entitled to the privilege. An unsuccessful effort was made, in the time of the commonwealth, to have the election thrown open to all freemen ; but the limitation appears ever since to have had the sanction of popular approbation. The election, as it now stands, is certainly on a broad enough basis, for every useful purpose. When seven or eight thousand resident liverymen can be polled at a disputed election, the addition of one or two thousand votes of mere freemen might oftener endanger than strengthen the popular side of a question.

After the mayors had been thus deprived of the absolute appointment of the sheriffs, the citizens allowed them, out of courtesy, to nominate one of the sheriffs, reserving to themselves, however, the right of confirming or negating that nomination. The consequences to which this practice led, furnish a striking example of the danger attending the smallest concessions of right, in matters of this importance. So far did the citizens carry this courtesy of theirs, that from the days of Edward the Fourth, to the year 1641, they appear never once to have rejected the sheriff nominated, or, as the fashion was, drank to, at some previous city feast, by the lord mayor for the time being.

Hughson and some other writers say, that the *first* instance of the mayor's drinking to a new sheriff occurred in 1585, when Sir Edward Osborne, at a dinner at Haberdasher's Hall, drank to Mr. Alderman Masham, as sheriff for the year ensuing ; but we have met with an instance of the same kind nearly half a century older, and a very singular one it is. In 1487, Sir Henry Collet, who was mayor for that year, while seated at his own table, and under a certain generous influence we presume, took a cup of wine, and turning to his carver who was waiting on him, standing and uncovered, drank to him as sheriff of London for the following year ! " And now, Mr. Sheriff elect, put on your hat and sit down." The lucky carver did as commanded, and not only served the office of sheriff, but rose in 1498 to be Sir John Perceval, knight, and lord mayor of London.

From so invariably approving for so long a period of the mayor's nomination, it is not surprising that it

should at last have been considered as a matter of course, that the person drank to by his lordship should be one of the sheriffs. So much was this the case, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, there are instances of the mayor's nominee signing the usual bonds to hold the office before he was confirmed by the livery, and at another time paying the fine for refusal before he was absolutely certain of being chosen.

When at length, however, the open attempt of Charles the First to establish despotism in the country, made it of importance to shut up every avenue to undue influence, the citizens shewed that they had not forgotten, that the right of rejecting the nomination of the mayor was one which they might still exercise. From 1641 to 1663, they uniformly rejected the person nominated by the mayor, and appointed two sheriffs of their own selection; an extent of interruption to the more ancient usage, quite sufficient to show that it rested on no claim of right.

The restoration having brought for a time courtesy again into fashion, the lord mayor's nominees were for many years, with but one exception, confirmed by the livery.

On the unavailing attempt which the citizens made about 1680, to check the arrogance and revenge of the restored dynasty;—when victims began to be marked out, and juries packed to condemn them;—recourse was again had to the right of negating the mayor's nomination, in order to keep pure the fountains of justice, by the appointment of honest and independent sheriffs. It is now that we see more particularly marked, the impropriety of *conceding* any

thing in a matter of this sort—of allowing the mayors to have *even the liberty of nomination*.

In 1680, the citizens rejected the nominee of the lord mayor, and chose Slingsby Bethel and the unfortunate Alderman Cornish as sheriffs, both of them persons distinguished for their opposition to the court. Were we to say that they were distinguished by *something more* than opposition to the court—that is, than a proper and laudable opposition to it; we should, perhaps, be saying no more than truth requires from the pen of history. It was during *their* sheriffalty that Lord Stafford was condemned to the block, for his supposed share in the popish plot; and the sentence ordered to be executed with all those horrid aggravations, the stain of which it remained to the present age to remove from the statute book. The king thought fit to commute the sentence into *beheading merely*; the sheriffs Bethel and Cornish protested against the right of the king to order any such *mitigation* of the sentence; and it was not till the house of commons had declared that they would be “content” with the head of their victim, that the sheriffs yielded the point. We have no desire, by the mention of this circumstance, to lessen in the least the detestation in which the subsequent conduct of the court towards Alderman Cornish so justly deserves to be held. The annals of tyranny contain scarcely any thing more barbarous, than the execution of this unfortunate gentleman, at his own door, and in presence (if present they could be) of his own wife and family.—(See p. 214.) History, however, has but to be true in all things, and even in the most revolting events the finger of providence may be traced.

The reader may perhaps remember, what was so well said by Lord Burleigh, at a debate in Queen Elizabeth's council, where the hot-headed Essex was contending for unremitting hostility against Spain. Pulling out a prayer-book from his pocket, he read from it these words: "*Men of blood will not live out half their days.*"

At Midsummer, in the following year, (1681) the citizens chose for the new sheriffs, two other persons equally obnoxious to the court, Pilkington and Shute. Opposed in a different sense however to the king, they saved from the scaffold, instead of seeking to add to its horrors. The grand jury being not packed as heretofore, *ignored* the bill which was tendered against the Earl of Shaftesbury, and this respectable nobleman was thus saved from the vengeance of the court.

The court party having, in the interval between the election of these sheriffs, and the election of mayor, mustered in unusual strength, they succeeded in raising to the mayoralty Sir John Moore, an individual, whom Burnet has well described as a "flexible and faint-hearted man, so sharpened by opposition, that he became in all things compliant to the court, particularly to the secretary, Jenkins, who took him into his own management." The new mayor invited the king to dine at Guildhall, on the day of his installation, and the invitation was accepted, with this express qualification, that his majesty did so, "notwithstanding it was brought by messengers so unwelcome as these two sheriffs are." (Pilkington and Shute.)

The city having now for mayor a person so completely under Mr. Secretary Jenkins's management, it was resolved to push the old usage about the nomi-

nation of sheriffs to its utmost possible extent. "When the day came," says Burnet, who relates the facts with great impartiality, "in which the mayor used to drink to one, and to mark him out for sheriff, he drank to North, a merchant, that was *brother to the chief justice*. Upon that, it was pretended that this ceremony was not a bare nomination which the common hall might receive or refuse as they had a mind to it; but that this made the sheriff, and that the common hall was bound to receive and confirm him in course, as the king did the mayor. On the other hand, it was said, that the right was to be determined by the charter, which granted the election of sheriffs to the citizens of London; and that, whatsoever customs had crept among them, the right still lay where the charter had lodged it, among the citizens. But the court were resolved to carry this point; and they found orders that had been made in the city, concerning this particular, which gave some colour to this pretension of the mayor's. So he claimed it on Midsummer-day, and said, the common-hall were to go and elect one sheriff, and to confirm the other that had been declared by him. The hall on the other hand said, that the right of choosing both was in them. The old sheriffs (Pilkington and Shute) put it, according to custom, to a poll; and it was visible, the much greater number was against the lord mayor. The sheriffs were always understood to be the officers of that court: so the adjourning it belonged to them: yet the mayor adjourned the court, which, they said, he had no power to do, and went on with the poll. There was no disorder in the whole progress of the matter, if that was not to be called one, that they

proceeded after the mayor had adjourned the poll. But though the mayor's party carried themselves with great insolence to the other party, yet they showed on this occasion more temperance than could have been expected from so great a body, who thought their rights were now invaded. The mayor upon this resolved to take another poll, to which none should be admitted but those who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his nomination of the other. And it was resolved, that *His* poll should be that by which the business should be settled: and tho' the sheriff's poll exceeded his by many *hundreds*, yet order was given to return those on the mayor's poll, and that they should be sworn, and so those of the sheriff's poll should be left to find their remedy by law, wherever they could find it. *Bor*, who was chosen by the mayor's party, and joined to *North*, had no mind to serve upon so doubtful an election, where so many actions would lie if it was adjudged against them at law: and he could not be persuaded to hold it. So it was necessary to call a new common-hall, and to proceed to a new election: and then, without any proclamation made as was usual, one in a corner, near the mayor, named *Rich*, and about 30 more applauded it; those in the hall, that was full of people and of noise, hearing nothing of it. Upon this it was said, that *Rich* was chosen without contradiction, and so *North* and *Rich* were returned and sworn sheriffs for the ensuing year. The violence and the injustice with which this matter was managed, shewed that the court was resolved to carry that point at any rate. And this gave great occasions of jealousy, that some wicked design was

on foot, for which it was necessary, in the first place, *to be sure of favourable juries.*"

The court was not even satisfied with thus forcibly depriving the citizens of the appointment of their sheriffs; for with singular wantonness they prosecuted Pilkington and Shute, and twelve aldermen and principal citizens, of the popular party, for opposing the usurpation of the mayor; and having new juries, as well as judges, at their command, had them condemned in large fines. Thomas Papillon, who was one of the two persons elected by the majority of the livery in opposition to the mayor, having caused a writ to be executed on the lord mayor, for his false return, was also brought to trial for his presumption, before the infamous Jeffries, and condemned to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* to escape exaction of which, he fled to the continent, and remained in exile till the revolution.

One of the earliest victims to this new mode of appointing sheriffs was the illustrious Russel, who observed, in his dying moments on the scaffold, "that from the time of electing sheriffs, he concluded the heat in that matter would produce something extraordinary, and was not much surprised to find it fall upon him."

The livery recovered entirely the right of election at the revolution. Not long after, indeed, Sir John Parsons, who was mayor in 1704, revived the custom of nominating persons for the approbation of the livery, and ever since, the election of sheriffs has been thus conducted; but so abundantly qualified is the power now conceded to the mayor, that the exercise of it has become altogether harmless. His lordship

usually nominates not less than fourteen respectable citizens for the office of sheriffs ; but the livery are not bound to approve of one of them, and have often appointed others of their own selection.

Any person being a freeman of London is eligible to the office ; and whoever is elected is bound to serve, unless he can swear that he is not worth 15,000*l*. The penalties for refusal are 400*l*. to be paid into the city chamber, and 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. to the ministers of the city prisons. A citizen, after payment of these fines, is exempted for three years ; but an alderman only for one ; no person, however, after being once drunk to by the lord mayor, can be drunk to again by any subsequent mayor, unless he becomes an alderman. Whoever serves is obliged to give a bond to the corporation for 1000*l*.

Although many pay the forfeit rather than serve the office, yet it is sometimes contested for, in which case the poll is held at Guildhall, and adjourned from day to day in the same manner as in elections for members of parliament.

The election of sheriffs takes place annually on Midsummer day, and they come into office at Michaelmas. When chosen, they are sworn into office at Guildhall, and two days afterwards in the court of exchequer at Westminster hall, a ceremony which, though much ridiculed on account of the supposed test of the sheriff's talents in *counting hobnails* and *chopping of sticks*, is solemn and impressive.

The services here alluded to are of feudal origin ; and are rendered by the corporation in general, and not individually by the sheriffs, though done at the time of their being sworn into office. In the year

1235, Henry III. made a grant of a piece of ground in the parish of St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand, to Walter le Bruin, a farrier, for the purpose of erecting a forge on it, on condition of his rendering annually to the exchequer a quit rent of six horse shoes with the nails belonging to them. This ground came afterwards into possession of the city, which had of course to perform the stipulated service for it. The usual process now is this; when the sheriffs are in attendance at the exchequer to be sworn, the owners of the land are called to do their suit and service, when an officer of the court, in the presence of the senior alderman, produces *six horse shoes and sixty-one hobnails*, which he counts over in form before the cursitor baron, who on this occasion is the immediate representative of the sovereign.

The *chopping of sticks* originated in a similar manner. The tenants of a manor in Shropshire, held by the city of London, are called upon to do their service, when the senior alderman below the chair steps forward and chops a single stick in token of its having been customary for the tenants of that manor to supply their lord with fuel.

The duties of the sheriffs are multifarious; they have to serve the king's writs of process; and, in this, are armed with such authority, that where the king is party they may break open doors, or untile houses, in order to obtain admittance, if it be denied. It is also the sheriffs' duty to impanel or summon juries composed of men of "honest repute and of good ability, to consider of and deliver their verdicts according to justice and the merits of the cause;" to attend the judges on all commissions of oyer and

terminer and goal delivery ; to levy and pay into the exchequer all fines to the crown ; to raise the *posse comitatus* or power of the county in cases of riot, when every person called upon by the sheriff, above the age of fifteen, is subject to fine and imprisonment if he refuses to comply with the summons ; to attend on the lord mayor, on all state occasions, and to discharge the orders of the court of common council, in all cases of petition to parliament, and of address, or even *remonstrance*, to his majesty. The most painful part of the office of sheriff is, that of seeing criminals executed, and in a metropolis so large as London, it is a duty they are frequently called on to perform.

In the execution of writs and processes, summoning juries, &c., the sheriffs delegate their trust. In the city, this duty is performed by two officers, called secondaries, who purchase their appointments from the corporation, and are permanent under-sheriffs. In the county, in which department alone between twenty and thirty thousand writs are annually issued, the sheriffs appoint their own deputy or under-sheriff, and have besides a considerable number of bailiffs or officers, who give security to a large amount for the faithful discharge of their office.

In all elections of members of parliament, either for the city of London or the county of Middlesex, the sheriffs to whom the writs are directed, are the returning officers ; they convene the voters, preside at the poll, and adjourn it from day to day as they deem expedient. Their power, in this respect, does not however extend to the city of Westminster.

Formerly, sheriffs were disqualified from being members of parliament ; but this gave the crown a

power which has sometimes been rendered subversive of liberty. The resistance made by Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Phillips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, to the arbitrary measures of Charles I., induced this monarch, previous to the new parliament of 1623, to make them sheriffs of Bucks, Somersetshire, and Yorkshire, which, at that time, prevented them from sitting in parliament. Sir Edward Coke however still thwarted the crown, for, on being called upon to be sworn into office, he objected to the following part of the oath that was tendered to him, "You shall do all your pain and diligence to destroy, and make to cease, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called 'Lollardies,' within your bailiwick, from time to time, and assist all ordinaries and commissioners of the holy church, and favour and maintain them as you shall be rewarded." In consequence of the refusal of Sir Edward to take this oath, it was not only dispensed with at the time, but ever afterwards omitted in the swearing-in of sheriffs.

On the revolution of 1688, the law which prevented sheriffs from sitting in parliament was modified, and by an act passed in the 5th of William and Mary, it was declared, that sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of boroughs are only disqualified in their respective jurisdictions, as being returning officers. Thus, though a sheriff of London cannot represent London or Middlesex during the time he is in office, yet he may be elected for any other place.

If either of the sheriffs dies, while in office, the survivor cannot act till another is chosen.

THE RECORDER.

The recorder of the city of London is appointed by the lord mayor and aldermen for life. The qualifications declared in the city books, to be essential to the office are, that "he shall be, as he is wont to be, one of the most skilful and virtuous apprentices of the law of the whole kingdom : a chief man, endued with wisdom and eminent for eloquence."

That these qualifications have been realized in many of the lawyers raised to the dignity, will not be doubted, when we mention, that, on the list of Recorders of London, we meet with such names as Coke, and Littleton, and Holt, and Montague ; but that they were not all "virtuous" is equally certain, for *Jeffries* once filled the office.

The recorder is the first law officer of the city, chief councillor to the magistracy ; himself, a justice of peace for the city, and one in all commissions of oyer and terminer. When on the bench, he delivers the sentences of the court ; he also reads the addresses of the city to the king, and reports to his majesty, after each session of the Old Bailey, the number of persons capitally convicted. In point of rank, he takes the precedence of all aldermen who have not passed the civic chair.

A singular instance of the difference in the value of money, and the salaries of public officers, is exhibited in the pay of the recorder. In the reign of Edward I., it was "only ten pounds, sterling, by the year," and "twenty-pence for each charter written, and each testament enrolled." It was afterwards

raised to one hundred marks, and has since gradually advanced to its present liberal allowance of two thousand five hundred pounds a year.

THE CHAMBERLAIN.

The mayor of the city was originally chamberlain, and the office was held of the crown. In 1204, the right of appointing to the chamberlainship was purchased from the crown; and the office became ever after distinct from that of mayor.

The chamberlain ranks next to the recorder in the order of precedence; he is the city treasurer, and receives all the money belonging to the corporation; he has also the charge of all its bonds and securities. The chamberlain is usually selected from such aldermen as have passed the chair. The livery have the appointment of the office; but, though the chamberlain is annually chosen on Midsummer-day, yet he generally continues to hold his situation during life.

THE COMMON COUNCIL.

The origin of the common council has been partly developed in tracing the history of the sheriffs. The custom of summoning certain of the discreeter and wealthier men of each ward, as representatives of the commonalty, which was at first surreptitiously introduced for the purpose of restricting the right of electing the sheriffs, was afterwards continued for better purposes in the establishment of that body, known

by the name of the common council. However expedient it might be, that the whole body of the citizens should be convened for the election of their principal magistrates, the mayor, sheriffs, chamberlain, &c., and on other extraordinary occasions, for the manifestation of the general will, it was obviously not of equal expedience, that they should meet on every matter of ordinary concern, in the administration of the city affairs. For the same reasons that representative bodies are of convenience and utility among nations, a common council or council of representatives became advisable among the citizens of London.

For a considerable time the mayors continued, as at first, to summon whom they pleased to be of this council, exercising in this respect a power very similar to that anciently assumed by the crown with respect to members of parliament. The common council, in fact, formed an established branch of the city's institutions, long before the citizens awoke to a sense of the right which they necessarily possessed to the nomination of their own representatives. By an act of council of the 6th October, 1692, it was declared, "that it is, and anciently hath been, the *right* and *privilege* of the freemen of the said city, only being householders paying scot and bearing lot, and of none other whatsoever in their several and respective wards, from time to time, as often as there was or should be occasion to nominate aldermen and elect common councilmen for the same respective wards;" but it is not affirmed, for that would have been to affirm what was contrary to the fact, that the *right* and *usage* had been the same. Neither is it *all* house-

holders who have now the privilege of voting for common councilmen, for, by act of parliament passed in 1725, it is restricted to those who occupy a house of the annual value of ten pounds.

When the right of electing the common councilmen thus reverted to the freemen of the different wards, the rule which the mayors had last observed with respect to the number summoned from each, and which, as we have before seen, had some regard to their relative population, appears to have been adhered to with but few variations. The number is at present fixed at two hundred and thirty-six for the whole of the wards; in 1209 it was but thirty-two. Farringdon within, which returns the largest number, has seventeen representatives; Lime-street and Bassishaw but four.

The office of common council is annual, and instances of removal are not unfrequent. The election for each ward takes place on St. Thomas's day; the alderman is presiding officer, decides on the reception of disputed votes, and declares the return.

The representatives of the wards being united to the lord mayor and aldermen, constitute what is called *the Court of Common council*.

The powers of this court are extensive. It has the entire disposal of the funds of the corporation; makes what bye laws it thinks necessary for the better regulation of its concerns; and possesses the right of nomination to several of the subordinate city offices.

It has no stated periods of meeting, but is convened by the lord mayor whenever he sees occasion. Any number of the members may require his lordship to call the council together for some special purpose;

but though a requisition, respectably signed, is seldom refused, the mayor is not bound to obey it, should he think his acquiescence in the measure at all injurious to the interests committed to his superintendence.

The sentiments of the common council on public questions are generally very much in harmony with those of their constituents; but, like other representative bodies, they have thought at times very differently. In 1796, for example, the livery in common hall, instructed their representatives in parliament to vote "a *censure* upon ministers for sending money to the Emperor of Germany, during the sitting and without the consent of the parliament;" while a few days after, their representatives in the common council met, and resolved, "that the pecuniary aid so furnished to the emperor, had been productive of great advantage to Great Britain, and *given a decided and favourable turn to the war!*" Such collisions are unseemly, and when they originate on the part of the common council, as in the present instance, are not free from the charge of indiscreetness. The propriety of being bound by the instructions of constituents, is a point on which those who err either way in judging, will err with many wise and good; but when a body of representatives gratuitously oppose themselves to the sentiments and wishes of their electors, for mere opposition's sake, and not in the necessary discharge of any part of their representative duty, we should imagine that there can be but one opinion as to the want of genuine constitutional feeling which their conduct betrays.

COMMON SERGEANT.

The common sergeant is the second law officer in the city, and assists the recorder in all legal questions, affecting its interests ; he also acts in a judicial capacity, as an assistant to the recorder, to whose office his own is generally probationary. He is usually chosen from one of the city pleaders, but the right of election is vested in the common council, who have sometimes raised to the office individuals who had no connexion with the city.

It is the duty of the common sergeant to attend the lord mayor and court of aldermen, both in council and on court days, on all occasions, whether within or without the precincts of the city. To him is committed the general care and management of the orphans' estates until they have passed the lord mayor and court of aldermen.

COMMON HALL.

In all the earlier charters of the city of London, the freemen are spoken of in a general sense ; not, as since distinguished, by the different appellations of freemen, liverymen, and common-council men, but as the " citizens of London," " men of London," " the commonalty at large." Nothing at all is said of *councils*, or any thing in the shape of a *representative* body. The only public bodies, on the contrary, which are mentioned in the great confirmatory charter of Henry the First, are the court of hustings, composed of the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and recorder ; and the *folk-mote*, or *folk-meeting*, meaning obviously the people in the aggregate. As late as 1257, we

have a most remarkable instance of the folk-mote being regarded as the grand source from which all the different functionaries of the city derived their power and authority. Although it is pretty plain, that the citizens were in this instance made tools of by the crown, to fleece their magistrates; yet the rights ascribed to them are still more obviously not of any novelty, but such as they were notoriously known to possess of old. While the king was resident at Windsor, a roll of accusations was found in his majesty's wardrobe, ("how it came thither none knew,") charging the lord mayor and aldermen with injustice and oppression in the levying of certain talliages. The king immediately ordered his chief justiciary, John Mansell, to summon a *folk-mote* in St. Paul's church yard, and read the roll of accusations in the hearing of all the people. Mansell afterwards told them that the king intended to punish all those who had in the least been concerned in oppressing them, and inquired if such a proceeding would be acceptable to them? The multitude answering, "Yea, yea," Mansell immediately deposed the mayor and chamberlain, made the constable of the Tower *custos* of the city, appointed new sheriffs, and seized upon the talliage rolls. Next day, an inquiry was commenced on oath, before the chief justiciary, thirty-six citizen-inquisitors and other commissioners, and continued for some time. When it was concluded, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, were summoned to attend at Westminster, when Mansell accused them of having oppressed and destroyed the city by their councils, and of altering the talliage roll to screen some people and burthen others, as well as of having neglected to

read such roll "*as usual, before all the people assembled.*" The magistrates asserted their innocence and demanded trial according to their own laws and customs, which allowed them to be tried by twelve men of their own city. Such trial was, however, denied them; and the more timid of their number, therefore, threw themselves on the King's mercy, while others boldly persisted in their demand. Mansell then ordered them to appear at Westminster-hall, when the king, who was present, commanded Henry de Bathe to pass sentence of degradation on the accused aldermen, and to declare, that they should never be restored without the royal permission. His majesty, however, afterwards allowed the citizens to re-appoint such of the deposed aldermen (with a few exceptions) as chose to pay "*large sums for the favour.*"

The usual mode of electing these folk-motes was by the tolling of a great bell, which was hung in a belfry near the east end of St. Paul's church.

The name of folk-mote was subsequently changed to that of *Common-hall*; and the right to a vote in it restricted to the livery.

The more usual purposes for which Common-halls are now assembled, are the election of the lord mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, whose nomination remains with the livery; but they are also frequently convened, in order to take into consideration measures of the government or parliament, affecting the interests of the country or of the city in particular; and still, as of old, the resolutions of the livery of London continue to have a leading influence in giving a tone to national opinion.

Attempts have, however, frequently been made to defeat the right of the Common-hall, to meet for the

consideration of grievances, by the lord mayor refusing to convene it on requisition, or by attempting to limit the object of the livery when assembled. Several instances of this sort occur in the history of the Common-hall; but on almost every occasion, the liverymen have not only triumphed, but have been supported by the decisions of the courts of law.

At the annual meeting at Midsummer 1680, for the election of sheriffs and other officers, the livery commenced with the consideration of certain grievances, of which they had reason to complain. Sir Robert Clayton, the lord mayor, being dissatisfied with the discussion, drew his sword, and was about to take his departure, when the livery insisted on the right of transacting such business as they thought proper, and obliged the lord mayor to return his sword to the scabbard and continue in the hall. They then passed several resolutions on the subject of their discussion, and afterwards proceeded to elect the sheriffs, and other city officers.

The lord mayor, in fact, although he has necessarily the power of convening the Common-hall, has no controul over it when met, except that which ordinarily belongs to every president of a meeting.

In the year 1681-2, the lord mayor, Sir Samuel Sterling, dissolved a Common-hall, assembled for the purpose of electing a bridge master, and refused to number the votes, when one of the candidates of the name of Turner demanded a poll. Turner brought an action against the lord mayor, in the court of Common Pleas, and recovered damages, and the verdict was confirmed in the court of King's Bench, where the case was afterwards argued.

Another remarkable instance of the independent power of the livery occurred in 1769, when the lord mayor refused to convene a Common-hall to take into consideration the outrages which had taken place in St. George's fields, which led to the death of Allen, by the military. The livery, on their meeting on Midsummer-day, would not suffer the lord mayor to proceed to the regular business of electing the sheriffs, until he had promised to take the subject of a petition to the King into consideration, before the Hall was dissolved.

In 1797, a very absurd attempt was made, by Sir Brook Watson, then lord mayor, and three of the city representatives, to transfer to the court of common council the power of calling or refusing a meeting of the livery in Common-hall, that is, to give to the *delegated* an absolute controul over those who delegate them. So little, however, was the court of common council anxious to possess this authority, that on being assembled, they passed a resolution, which was carried by a great majority, declaring, "That it would be highly improper in that court to give any opinion respecting the propriety, or expediency, of convening a Common-hall."

The livery claim the privilege of delivering all petitions or addresses to the King, in no other manner than "to his majesty sitting on his throne;" but this claim has been of late years repeatedly rejected by the court. The first instance occurred during the reign of that arrogant administration which occasioned and persisted in the American war. The next happened at a very gloomy period of our late war with France. On the 23d of March, 1797, it was re-

solved, at a very full meeting of the livery at Guildhall, to present an humble address and petition to his majesty upon the alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss the ministers who had now the direction of affairs from his councils for ever, "as the first step towards a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace;" and that this petition should "be presented to his majesty sitting upon his throne," by the lord mayor, the two sheriffs, and the four parliamentary representatives. When the sheriffs attended at St. James's, to know when his majesty would be pleased to receive the address, they were informed by the Duke of Portland, that the King would receive it at any levee in the common form, but that his majesty received addresses on the throne from the city of London as a corporate body only.

Another common hall was summoned to consider of this answer, when it was ordered that the sheriffs, attended by the city remembrancer, should wait upon the king, and inquire of him personally, "when he would be pleased to receive the said address upon the throne;" and to add, if necessary, "that the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, could not deliver their address in any other manner than to the king on his throne." His majesty repeated the answer given by the Duke of Portland, and farther added, that if the petition were presented, and at the levee, it must be "by no more than ten persons."—The sheriffs reported, at a third common hall, the answer which they had received, when the livery came to an unanimous resolution, "that the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London had, from time immemorial, enjoyed the right and privilege of

addressing the king upon the throne, and had never before been denied that right," except as in the instance we have before mentioned during the American war.

The right was again brought into question, at the afflicting scarcity of 1800. At a full meeting of the livery, on the 3d of October, an address and petition was resolved on, praying his majesty, "to convene the parliament for the purpose of considering the most salutary measures for remedying the sufferings of the poor, in consequence of the exorbitant price of every article of life." The king, as before, refused to receive this petition, excepting at the levee. The livery, at a subsequent common hall, resolved, "that whoever advised his majesty to persist in refusing to his faithful subjects free access in these times of peculiar difficulty and distress, is equally unworthy of his majesty's confidence, and an enemy to the rights and privileges of the city of London."

The court appears to have taken up a notion, that the acts of the lord mayor, aldermen, and *livery*, are not the acts of the corporation of London, and that those only are to be considered as such which emanate from the lord mayor, aldermen, and *common council*.

We must confess that we see no reason for the distinction. To use the words of Sir George Treby, when defending the city against the proceeding by *quo warranto*, the common council "are by no means the corporation, for though they use the common seal in some cases, so do the court of aldermen in other cases;" when they do use it, it is because they are intrusted with it; and most strange would it be, were those who receive a trust to be superior to

those who bestow it. The common council is *less* than the livery, and just so much the less is any act with their concurrence merely the act of the corporation.—Jeffries himself only contended on the bench, that the corporation were bound by the acts of their common council ; not that the common council, with the mayor and aldermen, constituted exclusively the corporate body.

Were the right of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery, assembled in common hall, to be considered as the corporate body of the city of London, less clear than it is, but little commendation is at any rate due to the spirit from which it has been denied. The real dignity of the crown has nothing to gain by the assertion of so questionable a point of etiquette as this : but must, on the contrary, suffer considerably from the appearance which it presents, of a wish to evade receiving the just complaints of the subject. When famine is in the land, it is, indeed, an odious time to stand on dreams of prerogative.

GUILDHALL.

The Guildhall or common hall of the corporation of London, where all their courts, meetings, and festivals are held, is situated at the upper end of King street, Cheapside. The district called Aldermanbury, is said to have derived its name from being the place where the first hall or bury for the meetings of the aldermen were held. “ I myself,” says Stow, “ have seen the ruins of the old court hall, in Aldermanbury street, which of late hath been employed as a carpenter’s yard.”

In 1411, during the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Knolles, the foundation was laid of the present edifice; but only the great hall was at that time completed. The other parts of the building were added at subsequent periods of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the liberality of companies or individuals induced them to come forward with the means. At the great fire of 1666, the whole of the interior and outer offices were destroyed; but the walls were of such remarkable solidity, that they survived all the fury of the raging element. "Among other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view for several hours together, after the fire had taken it, without flames (I suppose because the timber was of such solid oak), in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass."—(*Vincent.*)

The renovation of the interior was completed within three years after the fire, and at an expense of not more than 3000*l.* It underwent a considerable repair about the beginning of the eighteenth century; again, in 1780, when it received its present façade; and lastly, in 1814.

The ancient front of the building appears, from the accounts and drawings of it extant, to have been in a style of considerable richness and grandeur. Some traces of this style may yet be seen in the interior of the present porch, which is the only part that has been preserved nearly in its ancient state. The old front was ornamented by some remarkably fine statues. Two of them were originally said to represent Moses and Aaron; but, as people refined in their

notions, were assigned to Law and Learning ; and four others exhibited figures of those excellent handmaids, Religion, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance.— When taken down, in 1789, Mr. Alderman Boydell obtained a grant of them from the court of common council, and then presented them to Mr. Banks, the sculptor, who regarded them as very eminent specimens of ancient art, and was at the pains to employ his own masterly chisel in restoring different parts of them, which had been mutilated. At the decease of Mr. Banks they were sold among his other effects, by auction ; and sorry we are, that we cannot add, for the credit of the corporation, that they embraced this opportunity of recovering these relics of civic taste. Engravings of them may be consulted in *Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting*.

The present façade exhibits a tasteless jumble of the Pointed, Grecian, and Oriental styles of architecture ; parts multiplied to infinitude, and combined without the least relationship. On a pannel over the porch, are the arms of the city (as represented in our first page), with the motto beneath them, *Domine Dirige Nos*, as suitable an inscription for a place of popular deliberation as could have been well selected.

The porch conducts us into what is called *the great hall*. The first idea with which the view of it fills the mind, is indeed that of *greatness*. It is one hundred and fifty-four feet in length, and fifty-two in breadth ; two magnificent windows of painted glass, at the east and west ends, diffuse over the whole a strong but mellowed light ; and on each side are clusters of tall columns with gorgeous capitals, surmounted by a corresponding range of double piers, supporting a

roof fifty-five feet high. From six to seven thousand persons may be contained within this hall, and on some important occasions, the numbers we have seen assembled in it could not be much less.

The floor is of stone, furnished originally by the executors of the celebrated Whittington. The roof is supposed, with great probability, to have consisted, previously to the fire, of open-worked timber, similar to the roof of Westminster hall; it is now flat, and divided into large pannels.

At the east end of the hall there is an enclosed platform several feet higher than the pavement, and surrounded with a pannelled wainscotting, which is set apart for the accommodation of the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and other principal members of the corporation, at the meetings of the livery, and serves as a hustings at all elections. The more the great window over this platform is examined, the more it will be found deserving of admiration. Its divisions and subdivisions are all in the best harmony; their ornamental garniture light and elegant. In the compartments of painted glass, there are well executed representations of the royal arms and supporters, and the stars and jewels of the Orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, and St. Patrick.

Passing down the hall, the attention is attracted to a number of statues and pictures which occupy the spaces between the clusters of columns on each side, and call many interesting and appropriate recollections to the mind.

The first which claims our notice is a monument, by Moore, on the right, to the memory of the celebrated Beckford, who was lord mayor in 1763, and

1770. This patriotic and spirited magistrate is represented in the erect attitude in which he addressed to the king his celebrated reply, not equalled certainly by any thing verbally addressed to a sovereign since the days of the revolution. . . The corporation having already presented one address and remonstrance, to his majesty, on the ruinous course of administration pursued by his ministers, to which no satisfactory answer had been given, voted in May, 1770, a second one, which Mr. Beckford was ordered to present to the king, seated on the throne. After it had been read by the town clerk, (in absence of the recorder,) his majesty made the following answer.

“I should have been wanting to the public as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address.

“My sentiments on that subject continue the same, and I should ill deserve to be considered as the father of my people, if I could suffer myself to be prevailed upon to make such an use of my prerogative, as I think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution, of the kingdom.”

Mr. Beckford immediately, in a most calm and unembarrassed manner, made the following reply to his sovereign, as inscribed on a tablet beneath the statue.

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

“Will your majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London to declare, in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your majesty’s displeasure would at all times

affect their minds ! The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, sire, to assure your majesty, that your majesty has not in all your dominions subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown. We do therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

“ Permit me, sire, to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the Glorious Revolution.”

No observation being made, on this reply, by the king, the lord mayor and his deputation, after waiting about a minute, withdrew, and returned to the city to report the reception they had experienced. It has been more than once broadly insinuated, that no such reply was made by Mr. Beckford in the presence of his majesty, as that which the monument records, and that all this noble display of indignant

sentiment and eloquent language was an invention after the fact by the worthy mayor and his political friends, (Horne Tooke has been mentioned as the author.) So little reason is there, however, for doubt as to its authenticity, that immediately on the return of the lord mayor and deputation, the reply was ordered to be entered on the minutes of the council, and at the next court day an unsuccessful motion was made by a member in the government interest, for a vote of censure on his lordship for having made it.

Mr. Beckford was not now a young man, whom an ambition of distinction, or keenness in party pursuits, might have betrayed into so disingenuous an artifice to build a name. He was on the verge of the grave ; and the memorable words here recorded were among his last. He had already filled the highest offices of the city with honour and applause ; his cup of satisfaction, as far as satisfaction could be derived from such sources, was full. Yielding to the importunities of his fellow citizens, he had sacrificed ease and retirement, the chief comforts of old age, to take once more upon him the reins of government. " The feeble efforts of a worn-out man," as he emphatically told them, " are all I bring to your service ;" and not many days after that last and best effort which the marble records, he breathed his last.

In another compartment, on the same side of the hall, is a still more splendid monument, to the memory of the Earl of Chatham ; it was executed by Bacon, who was paid the very handsome sum of three thousand guineas for his labour. On the plinth there is the following inscription.

" In grateful acknowledgement to the Supreme

Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation, for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to an high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home ; by confidence and reputation abroad ; by alliance wisely chosen, and faithfully observed ; by colonies united and protected ; by decisive victories by sea and land ; by conquests made by arms and generosity in every part of the globe ; and by commerce, for the first time, united with, and made to flourish by war,—was pleased to raise up a proper instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

The mayor, aldermen, and common council, mindful of the benefits which the city of London received by her ample share in the general prosperity, have erected to the memory of this eminent statesman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall, that her citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs, without being reminded that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness, are the virtues infused into great men ; and that to withhold from these virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and admiration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour.

“ This distinguished person, for the service rendered to King George the Second, and to King George the Third, was created

EARL OF CHATHAM.

The British nation honoured his memory with a public funeral, and a public monument among her illustrious men in Westminster-abbey.”

But little, we fear, can be said in praise of this in-

scription. Its elaborate inelegance is not its worst fault ; even its bad grammar, such as "the British nation" and "*her illustrious men,*" might be overlooked ; but it offends both against fact and sentiment. The Supreme Disposer of Events is said to have raised up William Pitt, as a proper instrument for raising this nation to a high pitch of prosperity and glory ; and "this distinguished person," we are told, was created Earl of Chatham, not however for the service so done to the nation, but "for the service rendered to King George the Second, and to King George the Third." He is raised up too by Providence to be the instrument of supporting a political theory, which is contradicted by all experience, which never yet was true and never will be true, namely, that commerce can be "united with and made to flourish *by war.*" The "merchants of the first trading city in the world" must have been strangely inattentive when they allowed any monument of theirs to display so much ignorance of the real sources of commercial prosperity.

The sculptor, Mr. Bacon, has shewn a remarkable degree of judgement in presenting us with a monumental groupe, which belies, as far as it possibly can, the notions of political economy conveyed by the inscription. The illustrious senator is exhibited in a Roman costume, standing upon a rock ; his left hand rests on the helm of state ; his right is energetically placed on the shoulder of Commerce, who is presented to his protection by a female, whose mural crown bespeaks her the representative of the City of London ; Britannia, reposing on her Lion, occupies the fore-ground, and near her are four infants, emblematic of the four quarters of the world, pouring into

her lap the cornucopia of Plenty. No demons, nor furies, nor dogs of war, figure here; four *infants* denote, as truly as expressively, that it is by peace and amity among all the nations of the earth, that the horn of plenty is most certain of pouring its treasures into the lap of England.

Opposite to Lord Chatham's monument, on the other side of the Hall, is one to the memory of his son William Pitt, by Bubb; the sculpture not so good, the inscription better. The attitude of Mr. Pitt is appropriately oratorical; but, viewed with relation to the surrounding objects, it is an abstract conception, not well harmonized. From the turn given to the head, the face of the son seems as if purposely averted from that of his sire, which frowns on him from the opposite side in all its characteristic sternness. The incongruity has been the subject of a smart epigram by an unknown author; and as sallies of wit are sometimes preserved for their smartness, without any regard to their truth, we may perhaps be excused for giving this a place.

On the Statues of Chatham and Pitt, in Guildhall.

John Lump, stepping into Guildhall t'other day,

The statue of Pitt quickly spied,

And after he'd ponder'd some moments away,

To his comrade he thus archly cried :

“ D'ye see, Will, this man, with his father in view,

Asham'd of the nation's disgrace,

And the vast many ills he has brought us all to,

Dare not look his old dad in the face.”

At the lower end of the hall on the north side, there

is a monumental trophy to the immortal Nelson :— a huge heap of allegory, with a *small* profile of the great hero in the middle ; only rescued from contempt by the following admirable inscription from the pen of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

“ To HORATIO, Viscount and Baron NELSON, Vice Admiral of the White ; and Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath ;

“ A man among the few, who appear, at different periods, to have been created to promote the grandeur, and add to the security, of nations ;—inciting by their high example their fellow-mortals, through all succeeding times, to pursue the course that leads to the exaltation of our imperfect nature. Providence, that implanted in Nelson’s breast an ardent passion for deserved renown, as bounteously endued him with the transcendant talents, necessary to the great purposes he was destined to accomplish. At an early period of life, he entered into the naval service of his country, and early were the instances which marked the fearless nature and daring enterprize of his character.—Uniting to the loftiest spirit and the justest title to self-confidence, a strict and humble obedience to the sovereign rule of discipline and subordination ; rising by due gradation to command ; he infused into the bosom of those he led, the valorous ardour, and enthusiastic zeal for the service of his king and country, which animated his own. And while he acquired the love of all by the sweetness and moderation of his temper, he inspired an universal confidence in the never-failing resources of his capacious mind. It will be for history to relate the many great exploits through

which, solicitous of peril, and regardless of wounds, he became the glory of his profession; but it belongs to this brief record of his illustrious career to say, that he commanded and conquered at the battles of the Nile and Copenhagen;—victories never before equalled, yet afterwards surpassed by his own last achievement, the battle of Trafalgar, fought on the 21st of October, in the year 1805. *On that day*, before the conclusion of the action, he fell, mortally wounded;—but the sources of life and sense failed not, until it was known to him, that, the destruction of the enemy being completed, the glory of his country and his own had attained their summit: then, laying his hand on his brave heart, with a look of exalted resignation to the will of the Supreme Disposer of the fate of man and nations, he expired.

“The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, have caused this monument to be erected; not in the presumptuous hope of sustaining the departed hero’s memory, but to manifest their estimation of the man, and their admiration of his deeds. This testimony of their gratitude, they trust, will remain as long as their own renowned city shall exist. The period to Nelson’s fame, can only be the end of time.”

We come now to the statues of those two high and renowned personages, Gog and Magog, which are situated at the foot of the hall, at the sides of the great western window. Each giant measures above fourteen feet high; and, being elevated on an octagon stone column, presents a right gigantic appearance. Which is Gog and which Magog, antiquarians have not yet been able to determine, though many and in-

defatigable their researches into this curious matter have been. The points of similarity between them, however, are so numerous, that we presume no great injustice can be done to either, should he chance to be called by his brother's name. Both are very huge and mishapen; both have their brows encircled with wreaths of laurel, and their feet bound in sandals; both have long flowing beards, and still longer flowing sashes; both have been alike indebted to the bedauber of pink and blue, and green and yellow; each has a spear or pole in his hand, and a sword by his side; nor could any thing be more kin-like than the pensive dignity with which they both look down on the emmet gazers beneath them. Almost the only difference between them is, that the one on the left wears a bow and quiver at his back, and the latter rests his left hand on a shield emblazoned with a spread eagle, on a field Or. Were there any way of getting at their ages, it seems we should get at their respective names; for it appears there are Welsh authorities for saying, that the younger should be Gog, and the elder Gogmagog.

Who these worthies were, and why statues of them should have been placed in the Guildhall of the corporation of London, are two points about which the learned have long been divided in opinion. The author of a curious little work in two volumes 64mo. entitled, *The Gigantic History of the two famous Giants in Guildhall, London 1741*, (3d edition), following the most respected authorities, acquaints us, that one represents Corinæus, a giant of Trojan descent, who came over with Brutus, the great grandson of Eneas, and won this country from the hands of

Those mightie people borne of giants' brood,
That did possess this ocean-bounded land ;

and the other Gogmagog, the last of the British giants, whose tale is thus pathetically recorded.

“ On the sea coast of Cornwall, Brutus was accustomed to keep a peaceable anniversary of his landing ; so on a certain day, being one of these festivals, a band of the old giants made their appearance, and suddenly breaking in upon the mirth and rejoicings, began another sort of amusement than at such a meeting was expected. The Trojans seized their arms, and a desperate battle was fought, wherein the giants were all destroyed save Gogmagog, the largest among them, who being in height twelve cubits, was reserved alive, that Corinæus might try his strength with him in single combat. Corinæus desired nothing more than such a match, but the old giant in a wrestle caught him aloft, and broke three of his ribs. Upon this, Corinæus being desperately enraged, collected all his strength, heaved up Gogmagog by force, and bearing him on his shoulders to the next high rock, threw him headlong all shattered into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, which has ever since been called Lan Gogmagog, that is to say, the Giant's Leap ;— and thus perished Gogmagog, the last of the giants.”

That the credibility of this history might suffer nothing by the absence of corroborations from contemporary annals, the author very discreetly adds :—
“ An ancient writer records these achievements in Britain, to have been performed at the time—*when Eli was the high priest in Judea.*”

The subsequent elevation of these heroes to a place in Guildhall, is thus no less satisfactorily explained.

“Corinæus and Gogmagog being two brave giants, who nicely valued their honour, and exerted their whole strength and force in defence of their liberty and country; so the city of London, by placing these their representatives in their Guildhall, emblematically declared that they will, like mighty giants, defend the honour of their country and liberties of this their city, which excels all others, as much as those huge giants exceed in stature the common bulk of mankind.”

However fanciful all this may seem, it is certain that, long since history ceased from romance, Corinæus and Gogmagog have played an important part in the public transactions of the people of London. When Philip and Mary made their entrance into London, these giants figured conspicuously in the pageant exhibited on the occasion at London-bridge; and again, in Queen Elizabeth's progress to her coronation, Corinæus and Gogmagog were seen holding above the gate at Temple-bar, a tablet, whereon was written, in good Latin verse, the effect of all the pageants which the city had ever before exhibited. Still later we find them thus spoken of, in some verses printed on a broad sheet, 1660, quoted by Archdeacon Nares from British Bibliogr. The poet, it will be seen, had been wondering how either of two such figures as those in Guildhall could have heaved the other into the deep.

“And such stout Corinæus was, from whom
Cornwall's first honour and her name doth come;
For though he showeth not so great and tall
In his dimensions set forth at *Guildhall*,

Know 'tis a poet only can define
A giant's posture in a giant's line.

And thus attended by his direful dog,
The giant was (God bless us) Gogmagog."

The great fire happening shortly after the period when this last writer flourished, the giants perished in the flames; and such were the effects of this awful calamity, that even the memory of the people seems to have been affected by it; for within a few years thereafter, we find their popular writers asking who Gog and Gogmagog were? And what have their statues to do in Guildhall? "We entered with as great astonishment," says Ned Ward, in his *London Spy*, 1699, "to see these giants, as the Morocco ambassador did London when he saw the snow fall. —I asked my friend the meaning and design of those two lubberly preposterous figures; for I suppose they had some end in it. Truly, says my friend, I am wholly ignorant of what they intended by them, unless they were set up to show the city what huge boobies their forefathers were, or else to frighten stubborn apprentices into obedience; for the dread of two such monstrous loggerheads will sooner reform their manners, or mould them into a compliance with their masters' will, than carrying them before the lord mayor or the chamberlain of London; for some of them are as much frightened at the names of Gog and Magog as little children are at the terrible sound of raw head and bloody bones."

Alas! the mutability of all human affairs! The "two brave giants," "representatives" of the mighti-

ness of the citizens of London, become mere scarce-crows for apprentices and children ! As usual, too, where fiction takes the place of truth, popular invention has gone on adding fable to fable ; and the nursery legends of our own day tell how these dread giants, who never in the olden time “ stepped from their pedestals to take the air,” except to diffuse honour and delight around them, are now to be seen “ every day, when they hear the clock strike twelve, coming down to dinner ;” a dinner made up of course of giants’ fare.

When these statues were required to be moved about, to assist in the pageants of former times, (for there seems little doubt that those in Guildhall were the same which graced the spectacles at London-bridge and Temple-bar,) they are supposed to have been made, as the figures in pageantry commonly were, of wicker work and pasteboard ; but the giants of the present day, having been constructed since the cessation of pageantry, are made of less moveable stuff. Mr. Hone, whose researches have thrown much light on the history of these ancient relics, assures us, from personal examination, that “ they are made of wood, and hollow within, but too substantially built for the purpose of being either carried or drawn, or any way exhibited in a pageant.” The construction of them he has also pretty clearly traced to the year 1707, and to a train-band captain of the city, of the name of Saunders, who received 70*l.* for the pair.

Besides the various statues we have described, the walls of Guildhall used formerly to boast of a very goodly show of pictures ; but being removed one after another, as time despoiled them of their beauties, very

few now remain. There were portraits of all our sovereigns from the time of Queen Anne, and of all the judges who formed the court for the adjustment of differences respecting premises destroyed by the great fire, and who, as far as regarded that special commission, acted in a manner which gave universal satisfaction. The pictures of William the Third and Queen Mary, to whom the city owed so many obligations, have had greater tenderness shewn them than any of the others; being retained in their places, long after the rest have been consigned to the kitchens and cellars below. The painter was Vander Vaart. Walpole tells us, that Sir Peter Lely was at first employed to execute the portraits of the judges; but thinking it beneath his dignity to wait on their lordships at their chambers, Michael Wright "got the business, and received 60*l.* for each piece." To know the name of the artist of pictures that have disappeared, is at times a source of consolation. The few specimens of Wright's pencil that remain above stairs, say little for his talents.

In 1706, Queen Anne made a present to the city, to be put up in this hall, of twenty-six standards, sixty-three colours, and a kettle-drum—all trophies of the memorable victory of Ramilies; but these too have all disappeared. Had any other than a cob-web sweeper decided their fate, not one of them would have been removed while a single tatter remained. Such memorials of national glory throw a sanctity around scenes like this; and call up emotions, which are ill exchanged for any pleasure that can be derived from the contemplation of cleaner walls, more brightly blazoned with corporation arms.

Opposite to the porch of this hall, there is a flight of steps which leads to a number of separate chambers; one appropriated to the lord mayor and aldermen, another to the common council, a third to the courts of the lord mayor and common pleas, a fourth to the court of king's bench, a fifth to the chamberlain, and the remainder to various subordinate purposes.

The common council court is well worthy of a particular visit. It is a handsome room, and sumptuously fitted up; but claims a stranger's attention chiefly for the splendid collection of paintings and engravings with which its walls are hung. The principal painting is a magnificent one by Copley, for which the corporation paid 3000*l.* representing the destruction of the floating batteries before Gibraltar, on the 13th Sept. 1782. Most of the other paintings and engravings were a gift to the court from that public-spirited citizen, Alderman Boydell, to whom the arts of this country owe more perhaps than to any patron they ever had. Among these, there is one of great merit by Opie; the subject, the murder of Rizzio: another, almost as good, by Gavin Hamilton, of "Apollo washing his locks in the Castalian fountain;" and two excellent portraits of Duncan and Nelson, by Hoppner and Beechey.

The council, in order to show their gratitude to the worthy alderman, for this munificent donation, came to the following resolution:

"At a court of common council, Feb. 27, 1806, on the motion of Mr. Deputy Goodbehere, it was resolved, That the members of this corporation, grate-

ful for the delight afforded them, as often as they assemble in this court, by the splendid collection of paintings, presented by Mr. Alderman Boydell, entertaining an affectionate sense of the honour done them by that celebrated patron of arts, and proud of the relation in which they stand to him, as fellow-citizens, do, in testimony of those feelings, request him to sit for his portrait, to an artist of his own choice; conscious, however, that hereby they are only requesting him to confer a new gratification on themselves and their successors; and unwilling that, among such, and so many remembrances of sublime characters, and illustrious actions, his portrait should be wanting, who, discerning in the discovery, and munificent in the encouragement, of merit in others, combined in his own character, private integrity with public spirit, and solid honesty with a highly cultivated taste."

A whole length likeness of Mr. Boydell was accordingly taken for the corporation, by Sir William Beechey; and the corporation have now the satisfaction of seeing that, amongst the many remembrances of illustrious characters which their pictured walls bring to mind, the portrait is *not* wanting, of one whom it is indeed an honour to them to have numbered among their fellow-citizens.

OFFICE OF THE BUTLERY.

At what time the lord mayor and corporation of London had first assigned to them the functions they exercise at the coronation of the king is uncertain;

but as early as that of Richard II. we find the lord mayor and citizens claiming by their recorder; on behalf of such citizens as they should elect for that purpose, "to officiate in the office of the butlery and to assist the chief butler at table in the hall, and after dinner in the chambers, and also there to serve the nobility." The ground of claim was, that their predecessors had been accustomed to possess the privilege, or rather to do the service. It was further claimed in behalf of the mayor, "according to the liberty and custom of the city," that he should serve the king with one of his own gold cups while at dinner in the great hall, and also in his chamber after dinner, and that he should have for his fee and perquisite the said gold cup and cover.

When these claims were referred to the king, his majesty, "well weighing *gratitudinem magnam et subsidium*, which in times past his predecessors had experienced from the citizens of London; and hoping, that he should find the like from them in future, as also in order that they might more cordially afford him faithful obedience and fervently assist him where his necessities required;" granted their claims.

Previous to the coronation of Charles II., the "mayor, commonalty and citizens" claimed the same privileges on behalf of such citizens as they should nominate; and further, that on the coronation day they should "sit at the table next to the cupboard on the left side of the hall." The right of claim was, that they had done so "in like cases," and particularly at the coronation of King Edward VI. These claims were allowed, but on the coronation of James II. they were rejected, because the liberties of the

city of London remained seized in his majesty's hands by the judgement of *quo warranto*; but they were permitted to execute the office *ex gratia*, when they dined in the hall and had the gold cup for their fee as usual.

On the accession of William and Mary, the mayor and corporation not only claimed the same privileges; but further, that the mayor should be entitled in his own proper person "to serve the queen in such place in which she shall please to take *les espices*, on the coronation day, after dinner, with wine in a gold cup of the said queen's," and to have the said cup and cover for his fee, as his predecessors had at the coronation of other queens, and particularly at the coronation of King Richard the Third's queen.

This claim occasioned a long discussion with the commissioners appointed to decide on the coronation claims. Sir George Irby, the recorder, urged the precedent in the city books of such service having been done to the queen of Richard III. Lord Halifax and Mr. Justice Dolben were against the claim; as not sanctioned by a precedent which reached the case, there not having been a sovereign king and a sovereign queen both crowned in their own right before. But the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Lindsay, Lord Newport, and Mr. Justice Powell were in favour of it, on the ground that the king and queen being both crowned in their own right, had the effect of two coronations, and that the same service was due to the queen as to the king. It was further urged, that there could be no precedent in the case, since there had never been a sovereign king and a sovereign queen both crowned in their own right before. The claim

was allowed ; the mayor performed the service to both king and queen, and received two cups as his fees. The cup given on these occasions weighs thirty ounces.

At the coronation of his present majesty, on the 19th of July, 1820, the lord mayor, aldermen, and twelve citizens, selected from the twelve principal companies, proceeded to Westminster hall, in the state barge, and performed their accustomed service. When the dinner was concluded, his lordship, attended by the twelve principal citizens as assistants to the chief butler of England, accompanied by the king's cup bearer and assistant, presented to his majesty, wine in a gold cup ; the king drank of it, and then returned the cup to the lord mayor as his fee.

Coronations have always excited great enthusiasm in London, as they gratify the double feeling of loyalty to the sovereign and a love of spectacle ; and historians have handed down to us the prices paid for seats at different coronations, from that of William the Conqueror to the present time. At the coronation of Edward the Second, the price of a seat was only a farthing ; at that of his late majesty one hundred and forty guineas was paid for a single room. So lucrative, indeed, is a coronation become to the houses commanding a view of the august procession, that the proprietors are in the custom of inserting a clause in their leases, stating, that the possession shall revert to the landlord for a certain time during any coronation that may occur in the period for which the lease is granted.

COACHES AND SEDANS.

We read of *whirlicotes* or open chariots at an early period of ancient history, but the covered coach, which is a luxury of modern invention, was not known in England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The first person who set up one was Henry Fitzallan, earl of Arundel, lord steward of her majesty's household, a post which he gave up in disgust, on finding that he was supplanted in the queen's favour by the Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth was among the foremost to follow her admirer's example; but we are told that "after a while, divers great ladies made them coaches, and rid them up and down the countries, to the great admiration of all beholders; but then by little and little they grew usual among the nobility and others of sort, and within twenty years there became a great trade of coach making."

In 1625, Captain Bailey, an old sea officer, first set up coaches to ply for hire, which were hence styled hackney coaches, and not as some have supposed from their being chiefly employed in conveying the citizens to their villas at Hackney. He began with four, whose customary station was at the Maypole in the Strand, where the new church now stands. The drivers were dressed in elegant liveries, and left in this respect an example which their successors might do well not to disdain so entirely.

In the following year, Sir Sanders Duncombe represented to the king that "in many parts beyond seas, people are much carried in chairs that are covered, (sedans,) whereby few coaches are used among them," and prayed for the privilege of introducing

such vehicles into this country. Duncombe was patronized by the favourite Buckingham, and through his influence obtained the privilege he solicited for fourteen years. The introduction of these sedans seems to have been viewed at first with some disgust by the populace. Buckingham, we are told, was greatly decried for thus making "beasts of burthen" of the people. It was the same duke who first increased the number of the "beasts of burthen" employed in carriages; originally they were drawn by two horses only; but Buckingham sported six. It was wondered at as a novelty, we are told, "and imputed to him as a mastering pride."

In 1635, the number of hackney coaches had so much increased as to be regarded in the light of a nuisance by the court. In that year, there was an order passed by the king in the star chamber which proceeds in these terms: "His majesty perceiving that of late the great numbers of hackney coaches were grown a great disturbance to the king, queen, and nobility, through the streets of the said city, so as the common passage thereby was hindered and made dangerous, and the rates and prices of hay and provender and other provisions of the stable thereby made exceeding dear, hath thought fit, with the advice of his privy council, to publish his royal pleasure for reformation therein." His majesty then commands that "none should be used therein except they be to travel at the least three miles out of town, and that no person should go in them except the owner constantly keep, within the cities or suburbs, four sufficient able horses or geldings fit for his majesty's service, whensoever his occasion shall require them."

Two years after, however, Charles had so far changed his views that he granted a special commission to the Marquis of Hamilton, master of the horse, to licence fifty hackney coachmen in and about London and Westminster, with liberty to each to keep twelve, but not more, good horses for the purpose of their business. The number of hackney coaches required at this time, would seem, from the number of horses allowed to each coachman, to have been about three hundred.

Sir William Davenant, who flourished in this reign, ridicules, in one of his letters, the hackney coaches of London, for "being uneasily hung, and so narrow that he took them for sedans upon wheels." He adds another amusing objection to the use of them, which we suspect time has done but little to obviate. "Nor is it safe," he says, "for a stranger to use them till the quarrel be decided, whether six of your nobles, sitting together, shall stop and give way to as many barrels of beer. Your city is the only metropolis in Europe, where there is wonderful dignity belonging to carts." It may be so; but to this dignity, it is owing, that the metropolis of Britain is, at the same time, the richest, the freest, and most independent of all the capitals of Europe.

Although coaches had come thus rapidly into general use, it was not till near the middle of the eighteenth century, that they were used in travelling by post. In 1734, Mr. John Tull, an officer of artillery, son of the well-known writer on husbandry, Mr. Jethro Tull, obtained a patent for employing post chaises in travelling. The plan succeeded admirably, but brought no benefit to its ingenious projector, who died in a

state of destitution in the king's bench prison in 1764.

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

The merchants of London enjoyed many centuries of prosperity before they could boast of that most necessary appendage to a commercial city, a public Exchange. The place where they commonly met for the transaction of business was in Lombard-street, now one of the narrowest and most inconvenient thoroughfares of the metropolis. Here the Lombard Jews, from whom the street derives its name, and who were originally the bankers of all Europe, resided; here too they probably kept their *benches* or *bunk s*, as they were wont to do in the market places of the continent, for transacting pecuniary matters, and by this means drew around them the great crowd of whose various pursuits money is the common medium.

The unsuitableness of this place of resort was long a subject of remark before any attempt was made to provide a better.—We find in old authors, the merchants of London described as being “more like pedlars than merchants;” from their “walking and talking in an open narrow street, enduring all extremity of weather,” or skulking for shelter “under doorways and gateways.”

At length in 1534, Sir Richard Gresham, (for Pennant is more than partial in giving the honor of the suggestion to his countryman, Clough), who was agent for Henry the Eighth, at Antwerp, and had been much struck with the advantages attending the

bourse or exchange of that place, prevailed with his royal master to send a letter to the mayor and commonalty of London, recommending to them to erect a similar building on part of their manor of Leadenhall. The court of common council, however, was of opinion that such a removal of the seat of business would be impracticable, and the scheme was therefore dropped for the moment.

Sir Richard Gresham was succeeded in the Antwerp agency, and in his public spirit, by his son, Sir Thomas Gresham, who happily accomplished what had been denied to the hopes of his father. In 1564, Sir Thomas proposed to the corporation, that if they would procure a central and commodious site for an exchange, he would himself be at the whole cost of its erection. The corporation met the proposal in a spirit of equal liberality, and immediately purchased eighty houses, forming two little alleys leading from Cornhill into Threadneedle-street, which they pulled down, and then assigned the space on which they stood to Sir Thomas, for the erection of the proposed exchange.

On the 7th of June, 1566, the foundation of this edifice was laid, and with such activity did Sir Thomas proceed in the work, that it was wholly completed before the November of the following year.

Splendid as was the present which Sir Thomas thus made to his fellow citizens, it appears to have been at first but very indifferently appreciated. For notwithstanding all the inconveniences attending Lombard-street, such is the attachment to old habits, that it was some time before the merchants could be prevailed upon to avail themselves of the new mart.

The building had been two or three years open for their reception, when Queen Elizabeth signified her intention of paying it a visit of inspection; but so many of the shops still remained unoccupied, on account of the neglected character of the place, that Sir Thomas found it necessary, two days before the promised visit, to go round among the shopkeepers, and beseech them "to furnish and adorne with wares and wax lights as many shoppes as they either coulde or woulde, and they should have all those so furnished rent free for that yeare." (Stowe) Her majesty was much pleased at the appearance of the edifice, honoured the founder of it with her company at dinner, and with that national spirit which so eminently distinguished her, commanded that instead of the foreign name *Bourse*, by which the citizens had begun to call it, it should be styled in plain English
THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

The rent of a shop in this building was at first only forty-shillings; but in the course of a few years, Sir Thomas raised it to four marks, and afterwards to four pounds.

Let not the reader, however, suppose from this, that Gresham was making a lucrative speculation of his beneficence. With those enlightened and humane views which the mercantile profession is known so often to inspire, he determined that whatever revenue might arise from the establishment, should be devoted to the support of a Free Literary Institution, to be denominated, Gresham College, and to the sick and poor of the city. He executed a deed, by which he assigned for ever to the corporation of London, and the Mercer's company in joint trust, a

dwelling-house which he possessed in Broad-street, for the accommodation of seven gratis lecturers on divinity, astronomy, geometry, music, law, medicine, and rhetoric ; and the whole produce of the Exchange buildings, for the payment, in the first place, of the salaries of the lecturers and other expenses of the college, and secondly, of certain annual sums to different hospitals, prisons, and almshouses.

In the great fire of 1666, the Royal Exchange was among the many proud fabrics which that calamity reduced to ashes. "What quick work," says an eye witness, (the Rev. Samuel Rolle), can sin and fire make ! How did that strong building vanish as of a sudden, as if it had been but an apparition ! How quickly was it taken down, as if it had been but a slight tent, the cords whereof are presently loosened, and the stakes removed. So fell that noble structure condemned by craft and covetousness, and overladen with pride and prodigality." Another eye witness, (the Rev. T. Vincent), mentions a singular fact with respect to the Founder's statue, which remained erect and firm amid the raging element, while all around, tower, and hall, and statues of mighty monarchs, were levelled with the dust. "The Royal Exchange itself," he says, "the glory of merchants, is now invaded with much violence.—When the fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames ; then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the courts with sheets of fire ; by and by the kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greatest part of the building after them—the Founder's statue only remaining—with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing."

When this lamentable disaster took place, the funds in the hands of Sir Thomas Gresham's trustees amounted to no more than 234*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* ; but with a spirit beyond all praise, they resolved on making up from their own resources whatever might be the sum of money necessary for rebuilding the Exchange, in a style which might do honour to the age, and still farther honour to the name of Gresham. The king gave his cordial co-operation to the undertaking, and by an exertion of the royal authority, which deserves no place among the sins of the house of Stuart, so controuled the erection of new houses on the contiguous grounds, as to enable the trustees to give to the approaches of the new Exchange a breadth and openness, which the original one by no means possessed. His majesty, his brother the Duke of York, (afterwards James I.), and Prince Rupert, went personally at different times and laid the foundation stones of the principal pillars of the building.

On the 28th of September, 1669, it was finally completed, and opened to the merchants, who had in the interval been accommodated with Gresham college as a place of meeting. The total cost of the building was 58,962*l.*, which the City corporation and the Mercer's company defrayed equally between them. In the front of the building, immediately over the grand entrance, the following inscription commemorates the events we have been relating.

HOC GRESHAMII PERISTYLIIUM
GENTIAM COMMERCIIS SACRUM,
FLAMMIS EXTINGTUM, 1666.
AUGUSTIUS E CINERE, RESURREXIT, 1669.
WILLM^o TURNERO, MILITE, PRÆTORE.

Although Sir Thomas Gresham has indeed all the honour of founding this great building, and the still more substantial merit of having sacrificed a private fortune on account of it ; it is not to be concealed, that the actual work of his hands is in a great measure no more. The better part of the fruits of his industry and beneficence perished in the flames ; the site of the Exchange, and the college in Broad-street, being all that survived the general destruction. It is, therefore, to the spirit and liberality of his trustees, of the City corporation, and the Mercer's company, that the public are in reality indebted for the erection of the Exchange, as it at present exists. Indeed, so impoverished were the funds of the Gresham trust by the conflagration, that they had become ultimately inadequate to the different charges with which the founder had burdened it ; and, but for the magnanimous liberality of his trustees, in fulfilling the intentions of the venerated donor after the appointed means were gone, the good which he designed to be perpetual must have long since come to an end. In 1729, a bill of discovery on the subject was filed in Chancery by one of the Lecturers, and from a state of accounts then exhibited it appeared, that the Mercer's company alone had expended, out of their own funds on account of the Gresham trust, no less than the enormous sum of 100,659*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* In 1745, the sum in advance had increased to 141,885*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* ; it had reached a point of magnitude in fact, which put all chance of reimbursement out of the question. The payments which the city corporation had made on the same account do not appear to have been inquired into, but as they contributed equally to the rebuilding of the

Exchange, it is to be presumed, that they had borne an equal share of the outlay, so that the total advance on this trust could not, at the period in question, have been less than half a million; such an instance of spontaneous beneficence as we believe to be without a parallel in the history of benevolent executors.

The plan of the new Exchange is similar to that of the ancient one; and both took that of Antwerp for their model. An open area 144 feet long by 117 broad, is enclosed by a quadrangle of lofty stone buildings, with a broad piazza inside and outside, except on the east and west sides of the exterior. The principal entrance is by an arched gateway at Cornhill, of magnificent proportions, and surmounted by a tower, 178 feet high, which has a clock in the middle story, and terminates, in a cupola and globe with a gilt grasshopper (the crest of the Gresham family) as a vane. On the north or opposite side of the quadrangle, there is another arched gateway of nearly equal dimensions. The interior area is neatly paved with small square Turkey stones, said to have been the gift of a Turkey merchant; and is divided, as well as the surrounding piazza, into what are called *Walks* to each of which the merchants of some particular nation, or branch of business, are in the habit of resorting, so that, though all the world may be said to meet on the Exchange of London, you may always know where to find at once, the person with whom you have business to transact.

In the centre of the area there is a good statue of Charles II., by Spiller, set up in place of a former one by Quellin of Antwerp; and in niches of the surrounding buildings, there are statues of most of our

other monarchs, from the time of Edward I. to George III. The statues of all the earlier sovereigns as far as Charles II., are from the chisel of Gabriel Cibber; those of George the First and Second were done by Rysbrach, and that of George the Third, by Wilton. Some have been much injured by time, and whatever merit any of them may possess, as pieces of sculpture, it is sadly obscured by the sable shrouds in which our sea-coal atmosphere has enveloped them. In two niches under the piazza, there are statues of the great founder of the building, Sir Thomas Gresham, and of Sir John Bernard, another eminent citizen, whose merit as a merchant, a magistrate, and a faithful representative of the city in parliament, his fellow citizens have thus sought to commemorate.

The interior of the exchange buildings, both above and below, was originally intended to be occupied as a sort of bazaar, and it was so for a considerable period. The piazzas, both on the inside and outside, were lined with shops, and so also was the upper gallery. "Robin Conscience," in his progress through court, city, and country, 1683, tells us, "that after visiting the merchants on the area, where he got much abused for intruding himself, he

" Did walk upstairs, where on a row,
Brave shops of ware did make a show
Most sumptuous,"

The whole of the shops have now, however, been entirely removed, except those of the exterior basement of the quadrangle. The upper part of the buildings, to which there is access by two spacious flights

of steps under the north and south fronts, are now occupied by different public companies, such as Lloyd's, the Royal Exchange Assurance, Merchant Seaman's, &c., and by private merchants and underwriters of respectability.

The architecture of the exchange is of a mixed character; it is chiefly of the Corinthian order, and therefore not without considerable elegance; but the taste for ornament, which led to its adoption, has in many parts of the building run into profusion. It is now undergoing a general repair, and the whole front has been already renovated.

The interior area is open to the public from eight in the morning till four in the afternoon, at which time precisely the gates are shut.

CITY COMPANIES.

The city of London, like many other corporate towns at the present day, had originally but one collective trading company or fraternity, called the *gilda mercatoria*; but when the population increased, and trades became more numerous, the citizens began to associate in distinct companies, according to their respective occupations, and to seek charters of incorporation and protection, or rather of monopoly, for the purpose of excluding non-freemen from exercising the same trade within the precincts of the city.

Merchant guilds do not appear to have been known to the Anglo Saxons, nor does it appear very certain that they were introduced into this country on the first coming of the Normans, although it is extremely probable that this was the case. The first

mention we find of a guild or fraternity of tradesmen occurs in a record in the exchequer, during the reign of Henry the First, in which a sum of sixteen pounds is entered as having been paid by Robert the son of Lewestan, as the rent or ferme for the guild of weavers of London. It is probable that the city guilds were now rapidly augmenting by royal privilege. The oldest patents or charters of incorporation however, that have been preserved, are those of the skinner's and goldsmith's, which were granted by Edward III. in the year 1327. Several fictitious or self-constituted guilds had, however, been set up a century and a half before this time, but being without the royal licence they were fined. Indeed so early as the year 1180, we find sixteen of these *adulterine* guilds as they were called, fined by Henry II. in various sums of from one mark to forty-five marks each.

The city companies, though branches of the general corporation, have each a distinct government and peculiar liberties and privileges granted to them by their respective charters. Most of the companies have separate halls for their place of meeting, either to transact business or for their banquets. Each company has a master, wardens, assistants, clerks, and other subordinate officers for the general management and government of its affairs.

The city companies are nearly one hundred in number; but there are twelve which are called the *principal*, and sometimes styled honourable, though there are some of the minor order, such as the Stationer's company, which rival them in real importance. The twelve are, the mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skimmers, merchant

taylors, haberdashers, salters, ironmongers, vintners, and cloth workers.

The lord mayor elect must always belong to one of these companies ; if not at the time of his election, at least before he is sworn into office.

MERCERS.

The mercers' company was incorporated in the 17th of Richard II., though it had previously existed by prescription. The charter was granted to "the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of the mercers of the city of London."

In former times, when persons of the same trade generally congregated together in some particular street, the mercers were principally found in Cheapside, near the place where their hall now stands, and then designated by the name of *the mercery*.

" Then to the Chepe I began me drawne,
Where much people I saw for to stand ;
One offred me velvet, silk and lawne,
And another he taketh me by the haund,
' Here is Paris thread, the finest in the land.' "

Lydgate's London Lackpenny, Harl. MSS. 367.

It is remarkable, however, that at present there is rarely a single *merc*er belonging to the *Mercers'* company. The members now are, generally, merchants of the first class ; which may account for the fact, that nearly an hundred lord mayors have been of this company. Several sovereigns and princes, and many noblemen and illustrious commoners, have also belonged to it.

It was in "the mercery" that the house of Gilbert á Becket stood, who was father to the haughty prelate of that name, and most probably one of the fraternity. And here it was that Matilda, the fair Saracen, who had released Gilbert á Becket, when made a prisoner in the Crusades, found a future husband when love led her from the Holy Land, and without any other guide to direct her than the words "London and Gilbert." These, however, echoed through the streets of London, brought her at last to the arms of her Gilbert, for whom she had risked so much. He rewarded her love and constancy by making her his wife, and she afterwards became the mother of the prelate, who, from the supposed birth-place of his mother, was sometimes called Thomas of Acons or Acres. After the assassination of the archbishop at the shrine of Canterbury, Agnes, his sister, who was married to Thomas Fitztheobald de Helles, in conjunction with her husband built an hospital on the spot where her brother was born, and endowed it liberally. The subsequent fate of this establishment connects its history with that of the mercers' company.

In 1444, having through various causes become greatly impoverished, the master and brethren were made a body corporate by parliament, with power to receive gifts, &c. The brotherhood again prospered, and unlike too many institutions of the same order, did good to the community, with the numerous bounties, of which they became the stewards. In 1456, we find that John Neil, or Neel, master of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acres, was one of four benevolent clergymen of the city of London, who peti-

tioned parliament for power to each to found a grammar school, "to teach all that will learne." The petitioners complain of teaching being a monopoly, and add a shrewd remark, of very general application. "For where there is great number of learners, and few teachers," say they, "and all the learners are compelled to go to the few teachers, and to none others, the masters wax rich in money and the learners poor in learning, as experience openly sheweth, against all virtue and order of weal public." The prayer of the petition having been readily granted, a grammar school was accordingly founded, and continued ever after attached to this hospital.

In the catholic ages, the lord mayor after being sworn into office at the exchequer, used to meet the aldermen at this hospital, whence they proceeded in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral. Here they prayed for the soul of the Norman bishop, William, who was a great benefactor to the citizens, "for that the Conqueror, by his means and instant suit, granted unto them all kind of liberties, in as ample manner as they enjoyed them in the time of his predecessor." The city procession then proceeded to the grave and chapel of Becket's parents in the churchyard, there prayed for "all faithful souls departed," and afterwards returned to the hospital, where the lord mayor and aldermen each offered one penny.

After the general suppression of the monastic institutions, the hospital was purchased by the Mercers' company, and converted into the Mercers' chapel—The grammar school they also continued at their own expense, though not on the same spot. For some time it was kept in the Old Jewry, whence it has

been removed to College-hill, Upper Thames-street. Among the masters who have done honour to this institution, the name of William Baxter, a nephew of the famous Richard Baxter, and the author of the *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, is always mentioned with particular esteem.

At the great fire, "the mercery," the mercers' chapel, and every thing pertaining to them, were wholly destroyed; and soon after, the present hall and chapel were erected.

The arms of the mercers, which are sculptured over the gateway, present for their distinguishing feature, a demi-virgin, with her hair dishevelled. In the days of the Pageants, it was in allusion to this circumstance that the custom, when a member of the company was elected to the civic chair, to have, as a part of the city pageant to Westminster, a chariot richly ornamented, in which was seated a beautiful young virgin most magnificently arrayed, with her hair flowing in ringlets over her neck and shoulders, and a crown upon her head. When the festivities of the day were terminated, she was rewarded with a liberal present and the rich attire that she wore. This custom was observed as late as the year 1701, when Sir William Gore came into office.

In 1698, the mercers' company engaged in a scheme which nearly annihilated the whole of their funds. It was that of granting annuities of 30 per cent. to widows, according to sums paid in by their husbands. This plan was suggested by the Rev. William Assheton, D. D. rector of Beckenham in Kent. Considerable sums were subscribed on these terms, but the annuity was found too large. and it

was gradually lowered to 15 per cent.; but still the company was unable to sustain the charge, and in 1745 they were obliged to stop. Their debts were then 87000*l.*; besides an annual charge of 510*l.* on account of legacies for charitable purposes. Parliamentary aid was offered to the annuitants; and the company itself enabled by a new act to issue new bonds, and pay them off by a lottery drawn in its own hall, by which means its affairs have been retrieved, and are now in a flourishing condition.

It now possesses an annual income of nearly 90000*l.* exclusive of 3000*l.* a year which is distributed in works of charity either from its own funds or others of which the company are the guardians.

The mercers' company, in addition to their own school, have the management of St. Paul's school; a school at Horsham, in Sussex, founded by Mr. Richard Collier; and a school and hospital at Lavington, in Wilts, founded by Alderman Dauntsey. They have, also, charge of an hospital at Stepney, Trinity hospital, Greenwich, and Whittington college, founded by the trustees of the famous Whittington.

GROCERS.

The term *grocer* was originally employed to distinguish a dealer in goods in *gross* quantities, in opposition to the mere retailer; though now extended to all who deal in either way in "*the mystery of grocery*," a term in this instance, by the bye, rather oddly applied. The more ancient designation, however, of this *fraternity*, was that of the *pepperers*, on

account of pepper being the principal article in which the grocer dealt.

Mercibus hic Italis mutata, sub sola recenti
Rugosum piper et pallentis grana cymini.

PERSIUS.

The fraternity were first incorporated as grocers by a charter from Edward III., in 1345, which was renewed and confirmed by several succeeding monarchs. A pepperer was still, however, not unfrequently a distinct business; and continued so till as late a period as 1559. In that year a quantity of pepper, having been taken in a Spanish Carrack, was purchased from the queen at a good price by certain exclusive dealers in that article. The grocers, however, endeavoured to undersell the pepperers by making other importations of their own, which caused the latter to petition her majesty, that no pepper might be imported for three years, which would enable them to keep their engagement with her majesty; and to induce her to do so, they promised not to raise the price of pepper above three shillings in the pound.

Among other privileges anciently possessed by this company, was that of examining all weights used in the city, and inspecting and correcting all irregularities and abuses of persons exercising the trade of a grocer in the city or suburbs.

The hall of the grocers' company is situated on the north side of the Poultry. It is a new building, erected between 1798 and 1802; plain, but neat and commodious. At the commencement of the disputes between Charles I., and the parliament, Grocers'

hall was fixed upon for the sitting of the committee of parliament, and here the business of the bank of England was transacted, and its accounts kept from the time of its incorporation until the year 1734, when it was removed to Threadneedle-street. The garden of the hall was, until the middle of the last century, open as a public promenade for the citizens, who, at that time, were not so limited in their recreations, nor so curtailed of their privileges, as at present.

In the hall there are full-length portraits of several eminent members of the company, and among these one of an individual on whose name the virulent satire of Pope has heaped most unmerited odium.

“ CUTLER saw tenants break and houses fall,
For very want he could not build a wall.
His only daughter in a stranger's power,
For very want he could not pay a dower.
A few grey hairs his rev'rend temples crown'd,
'Twas very want that sold them for two pound.
What e'en denied a cordial at his end,
Banish'd the doctor, and expell'd the friend?
What! but a want that you perhaps think mad,
Yet numbers feel—the want of what he had!
Cutler and Brutus dying both exclaim,
Virtue and wealth! what are you but a name?”

It is scarcely credible how little truth there is in this most revolting description. Sir J. Cutler, who was four years master of the Mercers' Company, the man who “for very want could not build a wall,” defrayed out of his own pocket the whole expense of erecting the great parlour and court room of the old hall; and also

at his own charge erected the north gallery of the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, near which he resided. Sir John Cutler, who left "his only daughter in a stranger's power," because "he could not pay a dower," had two daughters, both of whom made distinguished alliances, the one being married to the Earl of Radnor, and the other to Sir William Portman, baronet. Sir John Cutler, who was thus so cruelly vilified, by one who evidently knew nothing of him, was so much respected by his fellow freemen and friends, that the former commemorated him both by a portrait and statue, and the latter expended no less than 7,666*l.* in the funereal honours they bestowed on his remains. That Sir John may have been frugal is probable; but how different is that frugality, which supplies the means of generosity, from the picture of starving avarice which Pope's lines display?

The grocers' suffered more by the fire of London, than any of the other companies; being left in fact without a shilling of revenue, and but for the personal contributions for the restoration of the hall, which Sir John Cutler set a laudable example to his brother members, it might have ceased to hold a place among the corporate bodies of London.—It has now several exhibitions to the universities, and supports a number of free-schools and alms-houses in several parts of England. Its annual expenditure for charitable purposes, amounts to about 1000*l.*

DRAPERS.

The Drapers' Company has had the double honour of supplying the first lord mayor, Henry Fitzalwyn, and of having furnished the civic chair with more chief magistrates than any other company: nearly one hundred and twenty of its members having filled that high office. It is not less distinguished for its charities, which amount to 4000*l.* annually. This sum is expended in free-schools, alms-houses, lectures and exhibitions, including an Arabic lectureship at Cambridge

Drapers' hall stands in Throgmorton-street, on the site of a mansion built by Thomas Cromwell Lord Essex. It is a noble structure, and is enriched with several excellent pictures, including portraits of all our sovereigns since the revolution, and a very interesting picture ascribed to Zuchero, which has been the subject of many critical doubts, but is popularly believed to represent Mary Queen of Scots, and her infant son James, afterwards King of England.

FISHMONGERS.

In the time of catholic ascendancy in England, the great demand for fish rendered the occupation of a fishmonger one of the principal trades of the metropolis. *Fish-street-hill* was the great mart for this branch of traffic, and here lived several individuals whose names shine in the city annals, particularly Sir William Walworth, and Sir Stephen Foster.

Strong prejudices appear to have been often excited against the fishmongers in consequence of charges of fraudulent dealing, which made them objects of po-

pular indignation and insult. So far had this been carried, that towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, the fishmongers, by Nicholas Exton, one of their body, prayed the king to receive him and the company under his immediate royal protection, "lest they might receive corporeal hurt." The prejudice, however, appears to have extended to the parliament itself, for in 1382, it was enacted, "that no fishmonger should in future be mayor of the city." This illiberal act was not long suffered to continue in force, for it was repealed in the following year.

The fishmongers were formerly divided into two companies--the salt fishmongers, incorporated in 1433, and the stock fishmongers in 1509; the two companies were united in their present form by Henry VIII., in 1536. The fishmongers, before the union of the two companies, are said by Stow to have had six halls, two in Thames-street, two in Fish-street, and two in Old Fish-street: their union appears to have produced habits of retrenchment, for the six halls immediately dwindled into one.

The present hall, which was erected by Sir Christopher Wren, after the fire of London had destroyed its predecessor, is situated in Thames-street, where it occupies a considerable space, and commands a good view of the river. In the upper end of the hall, and just behind the chair, there stands in a niche, a full-sized statue, carved in wood by Edward Pierce, statuary and architect, of Sir William Walworth, a member of this company, and lord mayor, during the rebellion of Wat Tyler. The worthy knight grasps a real dagger, which is said to be the identical weapon with which he stabbed the rebel, though a publican of Is-

lington pretended to be possessed of this dagger, and in 1731 lent it to be publicly exhibited in Smithfield, in a show or drole, called Wat Tyler, during Bartholomew fair. Below the niche there is the following inscription.

“ Brave Walworth, knight, lord mayor, yt slew
Rebellious Tyler in his alarmes ;
The king therefore did give in lieu
The dagger to the cytyes arms.

In the 4th year of Richard II. Anno Domini 1381.”

A vulgar error, however, is perpetuated in this inscription ; for the dagger formed the first quarter of the city's arms long before the days of Sir William Walworth, and was meant to represent the sword of St. Paul, the patron of the corporation. The Fishmongers exhibit another still more popular error, in their own arms, one of the supporters of which is a mermaid—*with a mirror in her hand.*

The funeral pall of Sir William Walworth, curiously embroidered with gold, is preserved among the relics of the company, as well as a plan of the splendid show exhibited on his installation, as mayor, in 1380.

Sir William Walworth and Wat Tyler have often figured in the city pageants, when the lord mayor elect was of the fishmongers' company. On the inauguration of Sir William Leman in 1616, several men in armour were in the procession, one of whom bore the head of Wat Tyler on a spear ; there was also the effigies of Walworth lying in his tomb, and an angel representing the genius of London, who made the dead champion rise up and address the lord mayor elect in a congratulatory speech.

GOLDSMITHS.

The Goldsmiths' company was incorporated in 1327, by Edward III. In 1462, Edward II. conferred on it the privilege of "inspecting, trying, and regulating all gold and silver wares, not only within the city, but also in all other parts of the kingdom." This important privilege has been confirmed by many succeeding charters, and acts of parliament; and the company are now assay masters to all England. All gold and silver plate must have its conformity to the standard fineness certified by the stamp of the company's arms (a leopard crowned); to imitate it, is felony; and to sell without it, a misdemeanour, incurring the forfeiture of the article sold. A jury is also annually selected from this company to assay some pieces of every sort of money coined at the mint, which are taken out indiscriminately from the mass, and kept under lock and key till the trial. The company has done much good by its faithful discharge of these duties, in preventing the circulation of adulterated wares, and preserving the coin of the country of its proper weight and purity.

The companies of goldsmiths and fishmongers formerly contended strongly for precedence, and that sometimes with so much warmth that the lord mayor and aldermen were compelled to drive several of the most mutinous from the city, and to deprive others of their freedom.

In the year 1239, the company had a still more violent quarrel with the tailors' company, which is related at length by Fabian. It appears that each party was joined in the quarrel by another company,

that they assembled together in the streets, nightly "in harneys," and that on one of these occasions, when they were met to the number of five hundred, they encountered with such violence, that some were killed and several wounded in the affray. The sheriffs, with their posse comitatus, interfered, and took several prisoners. On the Friday following, the sessions were held at the Old Bailey, where thirty of the rioters were indicted for felony, of whom thirteen were found guilty and hanged.

The goldsmiths were the first bankers in London, on account of their supposed wealth, particularly during the civil wars in the time of Charles the First, until the revolution. The goldsmiths' company has ever been affluent; its revenues are large, and its charitable disbursements extensive.

Goldsmiths' hall is situated in Foster-lane, Cheapside, and is a very large and handsome building.—The rooms are singularly rich and splendid. In that which is called the court room, there are a number of portraits, of eminent members and benefactors of the company; and among these, an excellent one of Sir Hugh Middleton, who bequeathed a share in the undertaking which has immortalized his name, for the benefit of decayed goldsmiths. From the high price to which the shares of the New River Company have advanced, this bequest has become a very ample source of relief to the poor of this fraternity.

SKINNERS.

Henry Lane, who no doubt was of the skimmers' company, in a letter to Hakluyt, the industrious edi-

tor of the Voyages, speaking of the wearing of furs, says, " it is great pity but it should be renewed, especially in courts and among magistrates, not only for the restoring of an old worshipful art and company, but also because they be for our climate, wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely, expressing dignity, comforting age, and of long continuance, and better with small cost to be preserved than those new silks, shaggs, and rags, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed."

The "silks, shaggs, and rags" would, no doubt, have found advocates among the city companies, had there been any danger of their giving way to the restoration of muffs and tippets, which formerly were an essential part of the dress and costume of the monarch, nobility, and gentry. In those times the skimmers were rich and numerous, keeping large establishments and contributing liberally to the service of the state. When the trade began to decline, the skimmers' company got into a dispute with the Eastland merchants, who were incorporated in 1579, and injured the trade by purchasing skins from pedlars and others, for the purpose of exporting them: but Queen Elizabeth, who was more anxious to extend commercial rights than to restrict them, refused to interfere.

The skimmers' company was incorporated in the year 1327, by Edward III., under the title of the " Master and Wardens, Brothers and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the Skimmers of London, to the Honour of God and the precious body of our Lord Jesus Christ." They were at this time divided into two fraternities, one at St. Mary Bethlehem, and the other at St. Mary Spital, but they were united by

Richard II., who gave them a new charter, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was afterwards confirmed by Henry VI.

Skinners' hall, which is a neat and regular building of the Ionic order, stands in Dowgate hill : before the erection of the present Mansion house, Skinners' hall was the frequent residence of the lord mayors, during their year of office, and the general courts of the new East India company were also held here previous to the union of the two companies, in 1720.

In the court-room there is a portrait of Sir Andrew Judd, a member of the company, who was mayor in 1550, and founder of a grammar school of some celebrity at Tunbridge, in Kent. The company are the guardians of the establishment ; but it is supposed to have been hitherto an expensive trust to them. Near a hundred years ago, it was commonly said to have cost them above 4000*l.* in law expenses. Now, however, the rental of the lands bequeathed for the support of the school have increased so much, that all past losses must be speedily indemnified. Part of these lands, which lay adjoining to the metropolis in the parish of St. Pancras, having been leased to Mr. Burton, architect, for the purpose of building, have been covered with elegant houses, which will ultimately bring in a vast increase of income. Judd-street perpetuates the name of the founder of this trust ; Tunbridge-place, that of the spot of his nativity, and object of his generous care ; Lancaster, Speldhurst, Bidborough, and other streets adjoining Burton crescent (so called, after the architect), names familiar to the records of the Skinners' company.— Agreeably to the statutes of the school, the members

of the company, attended by some eminent clergyman, pay it a visit every year in May, to examine into the progress made by the scholars, to the best of whom honorary rewards are distributed. The last master of this school was the celebrated Dr. Vicesimus Knox.

MERCHANT TAYLORS.

The merchant taylors' company, though not the first in the order of city precedence, is one of the most affluent, and ranks more royal and noble personages among its members than any other company. It was not incorporated until the year 1466, although Edward the First, in the twenty-eighth of his reign, partially united it with power to hold a feast at Midsummer, to elect a master, or pilgrim, as he was then called, and four wardens who were called purveyors of alms. Henry VII., who was a member of the company, re-incorporated it in 1503.

The election of the master and wardens of the merchant taylors' company has always been a day of great festivity, and has occasionally been honoured with a visit from royalty. Such was the case in 1607, when on the 16th of July, King James I., with Prince Henry, and several of his court, dined at merchant taylors' hall, and were most sumptuously entertained. The monarch and his son accepted of purses of gold that were presented to them; and the latter, with twenty-two earls and lords, and a great number of knights and esquires, were made free of the company.

Among all the distinguished personages, however, to whom the freedom of this company has been grant-

ed, it does not, perhaps, boast of one more entitled to distinction than Sir John Hawkwood, who was not merely a member of the company, but actually by trade a taylor; though, like the brave Russian general Dorfling, he “turned his needle into a sword, and his thimble into a shield.”

Sir John Hawkwood was a native of Sible Hedingham in Essex; who, during his apprenticeship in the city, was pressed and sent into France, where he served under Edward III. with so much bravery, particularly at the battle of Poitiers, that he was raised from the ranks to a captaincy, and honoured with knighthood. On the peace of 1360, the chivalrous knight did not relinquish the profession of arms, but became a leader among those bands of military adventurers called “Late Comers.” Barnabas, the brother of the Duke of Milan, then at war with Mantua, invited Sir John Hawkwood to his assistance, and he so distinguished himself in this new service, that Barnabas gave him his daughter in marriage with a large estate. Sir John afterwards assisted Pope Gregory XII., in recovering the revolted cities of Provence, and was rewarded with the governorship of five towns. He next joined the service of the Florentines, and dying in 1394, “after infinite victories obtained, and an incomparable renown amongst all men,” was buried with great honours in the great church at Florence, and a monument erected to his memory by order of the senate.

Sir Richard Blackwell, a fellow apprentice with Sir John Hawkwood, and a member of the merchant taylor’s company, was, like him, a gallant soldier, and knighted for his valour by Edward III.

The merchant taylor's company spends annually upwards of 3000*l.* in works of benevolence, a part of which is appropriated to the support of the MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, one of the most eminent seminaries of education in England. It was founded by the company in 1561, on a spot of ground on the east side of Suffolk-lane, Thames-street, formerly called the *Manor of the Rose*, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham. The statutes of this institution provide that one hundred boys shall be taught here at five shillings per quarter, fifty at half a crown per quarter, and a hundred or upwards for nothing. The number on the establishment is seldom less than three hundred. The boys are instructed by a master and three ushers, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other branches of useful and polite learning.

Sir Thomas White, who was a member of this company, and lord mayor in 1553, anxious to make still further provision for the youth educated at this establishment, founded St. John's College, Oxford, the scholarships of which are regularly supplied from Merchant taylor's school. A grand public examination of the scholars is held for the purpose every year, by the President and Fellows of St. John's College.

In order to provide exhibitions for the more intelligent of the unsuccessful candidates for these scholarships, an anniversary feast was begun in 1698, by gentlemen who had been educated at the school, which has, with a short interruption, been continued to the present time. The collections on this occasion are often extremely liberal.

The masters of this school have not been of much literary celebrity; but their ability as preceptors is

amply attested by the number of eminent scholars they have produced. Among these are enumerated three archbishops, Juxon, Dawes, and Gilbert ; eight bishops, several judges, and a whole host of physicians, professors, and men of letters.

The mastership of this school went through some curious mutations, at the time of the civil wars. The person who held it at the downfall of Charles I. was William Dugard, a most excellent teacher, but rather hot politician. He was a staunch royalist, and no ways scrupulous in the expression of his sentiments. On the execution of the king, he thus recorded his opinion of his fate in the registry of the school.

“ Martyr pro divinis patriisque legibus
Optimis sceptriger Carolus Sceleratorum manibus
cecidit.

“ GULIELMUS DUGARD.”

And by another inscription in the same registry, for the tomb of Oliver Cromwell's mother :

“ Mater nati execrabilis hic jacet,
Qui duos Reges, triaque regna, perdidit.”

Perhaps these sallies, confined as they were to the author's own common-place book, might have been overlooked ; but not chusing to be suspected by the world for less of a loyalist than he was, Dugard published openly “ Salmasius's Defence of King Charles,” and thus brought upon himself at last the vengeance of the court, by whose command he was, in February, 1649, dismissed from the mastership. It appears, however, that Dugard had in a short time contrived to make his peace with the ruling powers, for at the

end of 1650, we find him again at the head of the school, and the short reign of the intermediate master thus emphatically recorded in the registry :

“*Res Deus nostras celeri citatas turbine versat.*”

JOH. STEVENS, SEPT. 25, 1650.

About ten years afterwards, Dugard having given some new cause of offence to the members of the company, was again dismissed ; but so great was the reputation which he had as an able teacher, that on opening a school on his own account, in Coleman-street, he drew around him within a few months some hundreds of scholars.

HABERDASHERS.

The haberdashers, who were more anciently called milliners or milainers on account of their dealing in articles imported from Milan, were incorporated into a company in the year 1447 ; but it is probable that their number was not great, since in the reign of Henry VI. there werenot more than a dozen haberdashers' shops in the whole city. How much they must have increased during the reign of Elizabeth, may be inferred from the complaints made against them, that the whole street from Westminster was crowded with them, and that their shops made so “ gay an appearance as to seduce persons to extravagant expenditure.”

The business of the haberdasher was not, however, confined to the lighter articles of a lady's wardrobe as at present, but extended to the sale of daggers, swords, knives, spurs, glasses, dials, tables, balls, cards,

puppets, inkhorns, toothpicks, fine earthen pots, salt-cellars, spoons, tin dishes ; and even mouse traps, birdcages, shoeing horns, lanthorns, and jews' trumps, " contributed to that gay appearance " which the haberdashers' shops are said to have made in the reign of our maiden queen.

The haberdashers' hall is situated in Maiden-lane, Wood-street. The company is wealthy, and supports numerous almshouses, free schools, &c. at an expenditure of about 3500*l.* annually. Robert Aske, a member of this company, was the founder of the Haberdashers' hospital at Hoxton, for twenty poor single freemen ; and twenty of the sons of poor freemen to be taught gratis. He left to the company, for that and other charitable purposes, upwards of 20,000*l.* William Adams, another member, founded the free grammar school, and almshouses, at Newport in Shropshire ; and a third member, Mr. William Jones, left 18,000*l.* for charitable purposes, the greatest part of which was left to the management of the company.

SALTERS.

Though Richard II. made a grant of a livery to the salters' company in the year 1394, yet it was not regularly incorporated until the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The trade of a salter, or a dry salter, as it is generally called, consists in the sale of logwood, cochineal, potashes, and almost every sort of chemical preparation. Their motto is singularly appropriate, *Sal sapit omnia*.

In Salters' hall, which stands in Oxford-court, St.

Swithin's-lane, there is preserved a curious bill of fare of a very economical dinner given to fifty persons of the company of salters, in the year 1506. The whole expense of the dinner, wood, water, coals, and the cook's wages, (which were above a tenth part of the whole sum,) only amounted to one pound thirteen shillings and two-pence halfpenny; and yet the table had to boast of thirty-six chickens, a swan and four geese, nine rabbits, and six quails, four breasts of veal, and six-pennyworth of bacon. In wine the company of salters appear to have been particularly abstemious, as only three and a half gallons were allowed for the whole party.

In the rear of the hall there is a large garden, and a chapel, which is rented from the company, by a congregation of dissenters, and has been long known by the name of *Salters' hall meeting-house*.

IRONMONGERS.

The Ironmongers, who were incorporated in the year 1464, were originally called *ferones*; and during the middle ages united the professions of merchant, factor, and retailer. In the year 1300 there was a complaint made to the mayor, Elias Russell, against the *ferones*, for making the irons of wheels for carts much shorter than was the ancient custom, "to the great loss and scandal of the whole trade of ironmongery."

It is not to be supposed that the sovereigns of England assumed any greater authority over the ironmongers' company, than over others; but their re-

cords present more instances of royal interference than are to be met with elsewhere.

In 1575, there is an extraordinary precept directed to this company by the mayor, calling, on behalf of the queen, for a loan of sixty pounds, and stating, that if they have not so much in store they must borrow it, and lend it for one whole year. "Which sum of LX£. you shall paye upon Twysdaye next, comyng, in the mornyng, at Mr. Stonley's house, in Aldersgate Strete; and thear you shall receive an acquyttaunce for the same in forme appoynted. Fayle you not hereof as you will awnswer for the contrarye at your py.^{ty}."

In 1577, another precept was received from the mayor, calling on the company to provide a hundred able men, apprentices, journeymen, or others, free of the city, of agility and honest behaviour, between the ages of nineteen and forty, to be trained for "harquebusets;" twenty-five of them were to be householders and free of the company.

Ironmongers' hall, which is a fine edifice, is situated in Fenchurch-street.

The state-room is remarkably spacious and magnificent. The walls are hung thick with portraits of benefactors, but many of them are of very ordinary merit. About the middle of the seventeenth century, one Edward Coke appears to have had a contract for painting the ancient worthies of this company, at so much a piece. In 1640, there is a memorandum in the company's books, of the wardens having "agreed to pay 3*l.* 5*s.* each for five pictures *more* of benefactors." One of the best in the room is a picture of Mr. Thomas Betton, who bequeathed a large property to

the company, chiefly for the very benevolent purpose of ransoming British subjects from captivity in Barbary or Turkey. A likeness by Gainsborough, of Admiral Lord Viscount Hood, who became a member of the company, after being presented with the freedom of the city, is much admired.

The company is wealthy, and has several large endowments for charitable purposes, besides that of Mr. Betton. The Ironmongers' Hospital, in Kingsland Road, was erected with funds bequeathed to them by Sir Robert Geffryes, who was Lord Mayor in 1680. It is supposed to have cost 12,000*l*.

THE VINTNERS' COMPANY.

It seems doubtful whether the vintners' company are indebted to Edward III. or Henry VI. for their charter of incorporation, though from both these monarchs they received privileges. The company originally consisted of two classes of traders; the importers or wholesale dealers, and the retailers who kept taverns or cellars.

In 1426, great complaints were made against both classes of sellers for adulterating their wines; and Sir John Rainwell, the mayor, having caused some suspected quantities to be examined, found them so impure, that he ordered one hundred and fifty butts to be poured into the kennel. To put a stop to these abuses, Henry the Sixth, in a charter of confirmation which he granted to the company in the following year, directed that the company should appoint annually, "four persons of the most sufficient, most true, and most cunning of the same craft, that held

no tavern," to be sworn before the mayor, to see that genuine wines only were sold, and at such prices as they should affix.

In the reign of Edward VI., these taverns or wine cellars were limited to forty in the city of London and three in Westminster; the price of Gascoigne, Guienne, and French wines to eight-pence per gallon; Rochelle to four-pence; and no sort of wine was to exceed a shilling per gallon.

The number of wine sellers, however, increased rapidly after this period; for, by a report made by the company in 1564, it appeared that there were then one hundred and eighty. In 1637, the attorney-general made a presentment in the Star-chamber against a number of vintners, for selling wines, "both in gross and retail," above the set prices; but this, it would seem, was done for the sinister purpose of exacting money from the company; for the king, (Charles I.) agreed, on condition of their paying him forty shillings on every ton of wine sold, to permit them "to sell a penny in a quart above the rates set—to dress meat, and to sell beer and sugar," privileges they did not previously possess.

The vintners' company have been rich in works of charity. One of its most distinguished members, Mr. Benjamin Kenton, who died in 1800, though of humble origin and of little education, amassed a sum of 100,000*l.* as a vintner, 65,000*l.* of which he bequeathed to charitable purposes, including 2000*l.* to the general fund of the vintners' company, and 2500*l.* for rebuilding the Vintner's alms-houses at Mile-end.

The disposal of the remainder of his property is connected with an affecting domestic tale. Mr.

Kenton had an only daughter, to whom he was fondly attached ; she fixed her affections on a young gentleman who had been from his youth in her father's employment as clerk. The old gentleman, however, disapproved of the connexion, and the lovers preferred submission to the will of one whom they both revered, to an alliance without his sanction. " The result," as a biographical notice of one of the suffering parties states, " was of serious consequence to the father as well as his daughter, for it impaired her health, and by a gradual decline she sunk in sorrow to the grave. The conduct of Mr. Watts (the clerk) upon that melancholy occasion, and a more intimate acquaintance with his subsequent character, so endeared him to his patron, that unavailing regret accompanied the rest of Mr. Kenton's days." Mr. Kenton died in May, 1800, and left to Mr. Watts the whole of the residue of his property not bequeathed to charitable purposes.

The Vintners' hall is situated in Upper Thames-street. Over the fire-place of the court room, there is a curious picture of St. Martin, the patron saint of this company, dividing his cloak with the beggar.—According to the legend, which is of great antiquity, the saint had been out riding on a cold winter's day, and met so many poor creatures shivering for want of clothing, that he parted with one part of his attire after another, till, on reaching the gates of Amiens, he had but his cloak left. Observing a beggar standing by the gate, of a still more pitiable appearance than any he had yet relieved, the compassionate Martin drew his sword, and cutting his cloak in two, gave one-half of it to the mendicant. A more suitable

patron could not have been proposed for a fraternity, in reference to whom it has been so often said—

Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
Must sigh to think he still has found
His warmest welcome at an inn.

SHENSTONE.

THE CLOTH WORKERS.

The cloth workers' company is the last in the order of precedence of the twelve principal city companies, and was incorporated by Edward IV. in the year 1482. It would seem to have embodied the members of three more ancient corporations, all connected with the working of cloth, but of whom we meet with no account subsequent to the erection of this company, namely, the Fullers, Tellars (weavers), and Burillers (inspectors and measurers.)

The cloth workers are an affluent body, and expend about 1400*l.* annually in charitable purposes.

The hall is a neat building in Mincing-lane, Fenchurch-street.

STATIONERS' COMPANY.

Next to the twelve city companies which we have particularly noticed, one of the most eminent is the Stationers' Company. It existed as a fraternity long previous to the invention of printing; some of its members, indeed, have acquired immortality by being among the first to introduce this new power into the world. Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, and "learned John Day," were all of the stationers' company.

Wynkyn de Worde chose for the sign of his shop in Fleet-street, *the Sun*, as emblematic of the light this new art was to shed on the world ; and Day, who had a printing house in Aldersgate, with yet greater felicity of invention, took for his motto a form of words which at once proclaimed the great discovery, and connected his own name with its promulgation—*Arise, for it is Day.*

Although the stationers were thus individually assisting in promoting the art of printing, it is a curious fact, that their first incorporation as a company should have originated from a wish to obstruct the light which it began very speedily to diffuse among men. The foundation charter of the company, which was granted by Queen Mary, on the 4th May, 1556, proceeds on this remarkable preamble :

“ Know ye, that we, considering and manifestly perceiving that several seditious and heretical books, both in verse and prose, are daily published, stamped, and printed, by divers scandalous, schismatical, and heretical persons ; not only exciting our subjects and liege men to sedition and disobedience against us, our crown, and dignity ; but also to the renewal and propagating very great and detestable heresies against the faith, and sound catholic doctrine of holy mother the Church ; and being willing to provide a proper remedy in this case, we, of our own special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motive, do will, give, and grant, to our beloved and faithful liege men and freemen, of the mystery or art of a stationer of our city of London, and the suburbs thereof, that from henceforth they may be, in deed, fact, and name,

one body of itself for ever, and one society corporate for ever; with one master and two keepers or wardens, and that they may enjoy a perpetual succession."

The chief purposes too, for which they were thus incorporated, were declared to be, that no person within the kingdom of England, or dominions thereof, "should practise or exercise the art or mystery of printing," who was not a member of the stationers' company; and that the company should have the power of searching for all books printed in contravention of their monopoly; and generally to "seize, take away, have, burn, or convert to the proper use of the said society, all and singular those books, which are or *shall be* printed or stamped contrary to the form of *any statute*, act, or proclamation, made or *to be made*." In short, the stationers were incorporated for the purpose of being made tools in the hands of the court—hunters out and burners of heresy, "against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of holy mother the church."

Happily for the interests of learning, and the honour of the stationers' company, Mary's reign was of short duration; and it was in exposing, instead of upholding, the errors of the Romish church, that the monopoly of the printing which the act conferred on the stationers' company was first extensively exercised. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, the company consisted of but thirty-five members; but such was the demand for books which the spread of the Reformation occasioned, that in a short time afterwards, the number was reported to amount to one hundred and forty.

Elizabeth, satisfied that the monopoly of the stationers' company was employed in the service of the reformed religion, did not offer formally to abolish it ; but with that inclination to favouritism which formed the chief blemish of her government, she granted so many lesser monopolies in exception to it, that, in the end, she made a mere shadow of the company's privilege. She gave the exclusive printing of bibles and testaments to one ; of " all kind of law books " to another ; of Latin books to a third ; and of music books to a fourth ; nearly the whole printing business, in short, was parcelled out in this manner. The stationers' company made an attempt to question the legality of these sub-monopolies ; but on being heard on the subject before a committee of the privy council, were smartly reprimanded for presuming to offer any thing derogatory to the queen's prerogative to do as she pleased.

The stationers then very humbly petitioned, that since the universal monopoly given by their charter was of little avail to them, they might, at least, be placed on an equal footing with the interlopers of whom they complained, and have the privilege conceded to them of printing some one thing or other exclusively. They took this occasion of representing that, while they were thus deprived of all the advantages which had been promised to them by Mary's charter, they were still called upon to perform the odious duties which are attached to it ; for there was heresy hunting, it seems, required from them on the part of the Protestant, as well as the Catholic government. In a petition to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, at this period, they set forth " their good desserts from the

commonwealth, in searching for, and suppressing of popish and seditious books, and executing several warrants, directed to them for such purpose, by the queen's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical," and protest that, "they shall be driven to dissolve their company, unless the treasurer stand their good lord, as on former occasions he had done, as the special patron of their company, and favourer of the art of printing."

An arrangement, on the limited scale thus proposed, was eventually entered into between the different rival parties under the sanction of the court, according to which, the company were to have the exclusive privilege of printing "all manner of book and books of Primers, Psalters, and Psalms," as also, "all manner of Almanacks," "and "books and pamphlets, tending to the same purpose, the A. B. C. with the Little Catechism, and the Catechism in English and Latine, by Alexander Nowell."

While the monopolists were thus quarrelling among themselves, about the shares of the spoil, it is a source of pleasure to find, that there were some persons intelligent and resolute enough to stand up for the right of the public against them both. One John Wolf, we are told, whose proper occupation was that of a fishmonger, but who chose to turn printer, took upon himself "to be captain in the cause;" "was content with no agreement, but generally affirmed that he might and would print any lawful book, notwithstanding any commandment of the queen; that it was contrary to the liberties of London to grant such privileges, and that her majesty was deceived by those who prevailed on her to grant them." Wolf

had a sturdy abettor in Roger Ward, who likewise contended for the right, to print any book, however forbidden by the queen's privilege; and made it his practice to print all kinds of books at his pleasure. "The master and wardens of the company, going to search his printing-house, according to the power they had, were resisted by his wife and servants:" and apparently with good effect, for we are informed that "in the year 1583, the master and wardens preferred a petition against this man, to the lord treasurer; shewing his contemptuous demeanour; doing contrary to all order and authority." The lord treasurer sent commissioners to him, but it seems "they too could bring him to nothing: still he continued to print what he pleased without allowance, by his own authority, and such books as were warranted by her highness's letters patents to other men, and sold and uttered the same in city and country, to men of other arts."

The impunity with which such bold assertions of right as these were suffered to pass, in a reign like that of Elizabeth, shews manifestly, that the whole system of the monopolies was felt by the queen's advisers to be unsound. From this time forward, in fact, they vanished rapidly; almost the only one which kept its ground till another age, was that which the stationers had contrived to secure to themselves, amid the general scramble; nor would this probably have survived, but for the weight which a joint stock gave to this body in the field of competition, and the command which, from the nature of their business, they necessarily possessed over the various channels of circulation. A capital of about 15000*l.* called the

English stock, was subscribed by the members in shares for the purpose of being employed in printing the different books, the exclusive property of which had been given over to them, such as primers, psalters, almanacks, &c. Such was the success with which they pursued this trade, that a writer, speaking of the state of the fund about the middle of last century, says, "their dividends are often about 40*l.* per whole share, (of 320*l.*) besides which dividend, they give in pensions to the poor of the company about 200*l.* per annum."

Prosperous as this surviving monopoly was, however, it was at last destined to fall before that spirit of individual enterprize, by which modern times have been so eminently distinguished. In the early part of the last reign, Mr. Thomas Carnan, a bookseller in St. Paul's church-yard, stood a long suit at law at the instance of the company of stationers, for invading the exclusive privilege which they claimed of printing almanacks, &c. and obtained a decision in his favour, and in favour of the public at large. "The prior possession of the trade, however," as has been truly remarked, "the holding of all the popular copy-rights, and the low rates at which their almanacks are retailed, have contributed to secure to the company almost as general a sale, as if the previous monopoly had been established; so that the publication of these annual calendars still forms a very productive branch of revenue."

When the well-known act was passed in the 9th of Queen Anne, for the *protection*, as it was called, of literary property; but more properly speaking, for the *limitation* of the right of property, which authors

previously possessed at common law and in common reason, in the fruit of their labours, it was provided that the entry of any book on the register of the stationers' company, and the deposit of nine copies with their warehouse-keeper, for the libraries of the universities, &c. should secure it from piracy. The first entry is in these terms: "*To William Pikerynge, a ballat called, a Ryse and Wake, 41.*"

From the great stock in trade which the stationers' company possess, their hall is the depository of more wealth than that of any one of the other companies, the apothecaries, perhaps, excepted. Of the extent of their stock, some idea may be formed from the loss which they sustained at the great fire of 1666. Lord Clarendon says, that the "damage that befel that little company, in books and paper and the like," was, and might rationally be computed at no less than 200,000*l.*" When the fire was making its approaches to St. Paul's, "all those who dwelt near," continues this historian, "carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither; which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had saved, upon which all their hopes were founded, to repair the rest. It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers

especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth which, to that moment, was safe ; but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the driest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt."

The hall of the company was wholly destroyed by the conflagration. Within a few years after, the present edifice was erected on the same site, and the court in which it is situated (on the north of Ludgate-street), has since taken the name of Stationers'-court.

The *Stock* room of this hall is ornamented with some very appropriate portraits. Tycho Wing, the once noted Almanack maker, is the presiding genius, and Matthew Prior, (a friend *in the secrets of the court*), Steele, the *Tatler*, and Hoadly, the *Expounder*, are his companions. A fine portrait of the elder Bowyer, the printer, and a bust of the younger, also, mingle in the groupe.

The *Court* room contains a fine picture, by West, of "King Alfred dividing his last loaf with the pilgrim." It was presented to the company by that eminent individual, whose good deeds we encounter at so many steps in our progress, Alderman Boydell.

The large window of the great room exhibits as brilliant a specimen of modern painted glass as is to be found, perhaps, in the metropolis. It is, with the exception of the company's arms and crest, which are ancient, the work of Mr. Egginton of Birming-

ham ; and presents, besides these, the Royal Arms, the Arms of the city, two figures from designs by Smirke, emblematic of Learning and Religion, and the Arms of the liberal Donor of the whole, Thomas Cadell, esq., who was sheriff of London in 1801.

The stationers' company are almoners of very large funds, almost entirely placed at their disposal, by their own members. Among the latter bequests of this sort, may be noticed that of Bowyer, the younger, who, in 1777, bequeathed 6000*l.* stock, in order, as his will says, " that he may be allowed to leave somewhat for the benefit of printing." The interest of 1000*l.* is bestowed on such journeyman compositor, as the master, wardens, and assistants shall prefer on account of his knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and the produce of the remaining 5000*l.* is divided among nine aged printers, compositors, or pressmen. In 1784, William Strahan left 1000*l.*, the interest of which was to be paid to five poor journeymen printers in Scotland. About the same year, Rutland Johnson left forty-two pounds ten shillings and ten-pence a year, to be divided among five very poor widows who had seen better days ; and in 1803, Charles Dilly gave the interest of 700*l.* to two widows similarly situated ; and in 1817, Beal Blackwell left 100*l.* a year to be divided among twenty deserving letter-press printers, on the anniversary of his death.

But the living members of the stationers' company have been the most distinguished for their munificence. Mr. Andrew Strahan, the king's printer, following the example of his father, in 1815, gave 1225*l.* 4 per cents. to the stationers' company for ten poor

journeyman printers ; and in 1818, added to the splendid donation a thousand pounds more for four distressed printers above sixty-five years of age. This gentleman has since distinguished himself by another act of princely munificence, a gift of 1000*l.* 3 per cents. to the Literary fund.

In 1817, Mr. John Nichols, the Nestor of literature, gave 500*l.*, 4 per cents. to printers or compositors of good character ; and in the following year, Mr. Luke Hansard, another eminent printer, gave at two different times, 1000*l.* 4 per cents., and 1500*l.* consols to be distributed by the stationers' company in pensions and prayer books.

BARBERS AND SURGEONS.

The arts of shaving and surgery were originally twin sisters, and the former most indisputably the elder of the twain. It was at the continued suit of one king's *chirurgion* or *surgeon* after another, that the sovereign was first induced to form the respectable persons who followed these occupations into one corporate body ; and there being at that period none of those lofty notions prevailing, which have unhappily brought so much trouble into the family in more recent times, the applicants, chirurgions though they were, never dreamt of denying the right which by courtesy the elder sister possessed of giving the general name to the tribe ; but with a becoming sense of propriety petitioned that it should be by the style and title of the *Mystery of Barbers*, that the joint incorporation should take place. The charter by which this was effected is of as old a date as 1461-2 ; and

the chirurgeons, through whose active *instrumentality* it was obtained, are expressly mentioned to have been, Thomas Morestede, esq. one of the sheriffs of London in 1436, chirurgeon to the kings of England, Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth; Jacques Fries, physician to Edward the Fourth; and William Hobbs, "physician and chirurgeon for the same king's body." Morestede died before the charter was obtained; but appears to have left it as a sort of dying wish to his successors, that they would not cease exerting the influence of their situation to procure this important favour from the king.

The charter, which is still very carefully preserved in the *Barber* branch of the family, is remarkable for a fine seal of green wax which is appended to it; being, after the lapse of about four centuries, nearly as fresh as at first.

At what time the practisers of surgery exclusively began first to draw off from the general body, and to associate by themselves, under the name of surgeons, does not clearly appear. The earliest legal recognition of them is in the 5th of Henry VIII. when an act was made in favour of the *Craft and Mystery of Surgeons*, exempting the members from serving on inquests and other parochial offices. The number of these surgeons, *par excellence*, however, is said not to have exceeded twelve in all London. The secession appears evidently not to have prospered. We are told, that it gave rise to "disputes and feuds" between the rival companies; and it is certain, that it opened the door to the assumption of the title of surgeon by so many unqualified persons, as at last to sink the profession into a state of disgrace, from

which there was no other way of redeeming it, except by a re-union with the parent stock, and the resumption of the ancient and honourable appellation of *Barbers*. Of the merits of these pretenders, a pretty correct idea may be formed, from the picture which Gale gives us of the *army surgeons* of this period.

“ I remember,” says Gale, “ when I was at the wars at Montreuil, in the time of that most famous prince, King Henry VIII. there was a great rabblement, that took on them to be surgeons ; ‘ some were horse-doctors, some tinklers, and some coblers.’ This noble sect did such great cures, that they got themselves a perpetual name ! for in two dressings they did commonly make their cures sound and whole for ever, so that they neither felt heat nor no manner of pain after. When we demanded of them, what chirurgery stuff they had to cure men withal ? they would show us a pot or a horn, which they had in a budget, wherein was such a trumpery as they did use to grease horses’ heels withal ; and others, that were coblers and tinklers, they used shoemakers’ wax, with the rust of old pans, and therewith made a *noble salve*, as they did term it. But in the end, this worthy rabblement was committed to the Marshalsea, by the duke’s grace, to be hanged for their worthy deeds, except they would declare the truth, what they were, and of what occupation ; and in the end they did confess, as I have declared to you before.”

In the 33d of Henry VIII. an act was accordingly procured for the re-incorporation of the Barbers and Surgeons into one body by the name of “ the master or governors of the mystery or commonalty of barbers and chirurgeons of the city of London.” It

proceeds on the narrative, that "whereas there are *two distinct companies of Surgeons*," and enacts, that henceforth, they shall form but one company; but that, at the same time, a distinct line of division shall be drawn between the practice of the two branches of the profession. No person practising the art of barbery, is to intermeddle with that of surgery, except as to drawing of teeth, which barbers may continue to do as before; and, on the other hand, no person devoting himself to surgery, is to exercise what is pithily called "the *feat or craft*" of shaving.

In the present court hall of the Barbers, there is an admirable painting, by Holbein, representing Henry VIII. delivering this charter to the court of assistants and company. It is painted on a pannel, measures ten feet two inches in length, and six in width, and is in a high state of preservation. The king is in the act of presenting the charter to Thomas Vicary, the then master of the company, who was sergeant surgeon to his majesty, and afterwards to Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and is supposed to be the author of the first work that was ever written on anatomy in the English language. On each side of the master, are the principal members of the company, kneeling. The two immediately on the right of Henry, represent Doctor John Chamber, his majesty's principal physician and dean of St. Stephen's college, Westminster; and Doctor William Butts, also king's physician, both of whom had been past-masters of the company. The figure next to the master on the right, is that of Sir John Ayliff, an eminent surgeon, who was sheriff of London in 1549,

and, as we read on his monument in the church of St. Michael Bassishaw, was called to court by Henry VIII. "who loved him dearly well," and by his son, Edward VI. subsequently knighted.

The estimation in which this picture has been always deservedly held, may be judged of from the request contained in the following letter from James I. to the corporation.

"JAMES R.

"Trustie and well beloved, we greeete you well, whereas we are informed of a table painting in yor hall, wherein is the picture of o^r predecessor of famous memorie, K. Henry 8th, together with diverse of y^r companie, which being both like him, and well done, but are desirous to have copyed. Wherefore, our pleasure is, that you presently deliver it unto this bearer, our well beloved servant, Sir Lionell Cranfield, knt., one of our maisters of requests, whom we have commanded to receive it of you, and to see it with all expedition copied and re-delivered safely. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court of Newmarket, the 13th day of Januarie, 1617.

"To our trustie and well beloved, the companie of Barber Surgeons in London."

At a court of the company held on the receipt of these commands, it was ordered, that "the picture be taken down, if conveniently it may be," and delivered to Sir Lionell. It seems doubtful, however, that it ever was.

The company went always after their reunion by the name of "Barber Surgeons," as they are here designated by James. The master was one year

chosen by the barbers, the next, by the surgeons ; and the court of assistants was composed of equal numbers of each.

For a considerable period, the affairs of the barber surgeons went on most smoothly and prosperously under this system of management. The science of surgery was cultivated with assiduity and success by one part of the fraternity, and we dare say, that of shaving suffered nothing in the hands of the other. The barbers' hall, situated in Monkwell-street, was converted into an anatomical theatre, where lectures were delivered by the more eminent members of the company, and illustrated by the dissection of the dead bodies of criminals given to the company for that purpose, and by others " brought to them," we presume, in the usual course of a nefarious trade. On this last point, however, there is an order extant in the Minute books of the court of assistants, the perusal of which must, we think, suggest some doubts as to the "*usual course*" having been always adhered to. We know not what interpretation exactly to give to this singular piece of evidence ; but that it indicates some practice more horridly revolting than any thing we know of in our times, is but too apparent. It is dated 13th July, 1587, and is literally in these words :

" It is agreed, that if any bodie, who shall, at any tyme hereafter, happen to be brought to our hall for *the intent to be wrought upon by th' anattomists* of our companie, shall *revyve or come to life againe, as of late hath been seen.* The charges about the same bodie so *revvyng*, shall be borne, levied, and susteyned by such person or persons who shall happen to bring

home the bodie. And further, shall abyde such order or fyne, as this house shall award"!!!

In 1636, a new theatre of Anatomy was built for the company by Inigo Jones, which Walpole calls one of that able architect's "best works." It was here that the celebrated Sir Charles Scarborough, chief physician to Charles the Second, James the Second, and William the Third, delivered for several years those lectures, so well known among the cultivators of anatomical science, as having for the first time demonstrated muscular action by geometrical and mechanical illustrations.

At the great fire, the hall of the company was destroyed, but the theatre of anatomy, being a detached building, escaped. The present hall has been founded on a part of the ancient wall of the city, and it is a curious fact, that the west end of the great room actually consists of the interior of one of the old city towers or bulwarks, which the architect skilfully incorporated in the new building.

Long as the two bodies of barbers and surgeons had now been re-united, there were unfortunately circumstances in the connexion which kept it from consolidating like other bonds of union, and led at last to another, and we fear, final separation between them. It is a fact not to be denied, however much to be deplored, that the art and mystery of barbery has, without any assignable reason, sunk exceedingly from that high estimation in which it was anciently held; and that though all the world continues still as much obliged to it as ever, it has become the object of nearly all the world's contumely. The minds of men, however, are enlightening, and we do not de-

spair of yet witnessing a returning sense of the respect which is due to so useful, honest, and singularly *faithful* a class of his majesty's subjects. The art of surgery, meanwhile, has risen as the other has declined ; its practitioners have become rich and eminent ; titles have been showered among them ; and though they cannot yet boast, like the barbers, of having had a king of their community, yet it is quite natural they should long since have grown weary of an alliance, which connected them only with humbleness and obscurity.

About 1745, the surgeons applied to parliament for a dissolution of the joint incorporation of barber surgeons, and succeeded in obtaining an act, by which they were for ever separated, and erected anew into distinct companies. The barbers, as the more ancient body, had the company's hall, as well as the theatre of anatomy, assigned to them ; but having now no use for the latter, it was pulled down in 1783, and some dwelling-houses erected on its site.

APOTHECARIES.

The apothecaries were originally associated with the grocers, but obtained a separate charter of incorporation from James I. in 1606. They form a joint-stock trading company, and carry on business both wholesale and retail at their own hall, in Water-lane, Blackfriars. The whole of the medicines used in the navy are received from this hall. The company have also usually a contract for supplying the East India company with drugs, which seldom amount to less than 6000*l.* a year.

Several important privileges have been conferred on this body by different acts of parliament ; and one particularly by a late act, which cannot fail to be attended with general benefit. We allude to the act which requires that all persons practising as apothecaries throughout the country, shall have been previously examined by their company, as to the extent of their pharmaceutical knowledge, and have received a certificate of their fitness to be intrusted with so important a duty as that of the dispensing of medicines.

The company has a large botanical garden at Chelsea, which was bequeathed to them by Sir Hans Sloane, upon condition that they should present annually to the Royal Society fifty *new* plants, till the number should amount to 2000. The condition was punctually fulfilled. The students, and others, who have the privilege of access to this garden, have a ticket given them, with this suitable motto : *Herbarum est subjecta nobis*.—The motto of the company is equally appropriate : *Opiferque per orbem dicor*.

PAINTERS.

As early as the reign of Edward IV. there was a brotherhood, known by the appellation of Painter Stainers, from the nature of their employment, which was that of staining glass, decorating altars, illuminating missals, &c. ; but the reign of Elizabeth had arrived before they were incorporated into the present company, which, though of the same name, comprehends generally all classes of painters, from the painter of history down to the painter of houses.

Among its members it has had the honour of numbering some very eminent names, especially of modern times. Sir Joshua Reynolds generously led the way to an union of the higher order of painters with their more humble brethren, by enrolling himself as a freeman of this company ; and it was, for a time, a fashion to follow his example. We regret that recently fashion seems to have taken a different direction.

The hall of this company, which is in Little Trinity-lane, possesses a numerous and interesting collection of pictures, most of them executed by its own members. Among these there is an excellent portrait of Camden, the celebrated antiquary, in his tabard as Clarenceux, King at Arms. He was a freeman of this company, and left to it a silver cup, which is used every St. Luke's day, in drinking to the health of the newly elected master. John Stock, esq. of Hampstead, of whom there is a portrait in the court-room, bequeathed 11000*l.* to this company for various benevolent purposes.

CUTLERS.

The Cutlers are a class of artizans of great antiquity in England, for even Chaucer speaks of a monk who " bore a Sheffield whittle in his hose ;" yet for two centuries after the time of that poet, English cutlery was in such small repute, that our chief supplies came from abroad. The cutlers' company of London were incorporated by Henry V. in 1417 ; but one Richard Mathew, who kept a shop at Fleet bridge, in the reign of Elizabeth, was the first to bring the trade into importance. He attained to such skill in the manufacture of fine knives and hafts, that the quee

prohibited any farther importation from abroad ; and at the close of her reign, the London knives were esteemed the best in the world.

The hall of this company is in Cloak-lane. It contains a portrait of Mrs. Crawthorn, by whom the Bell Savage inn, on Ludgate-hill, was bequeathed to the company for several benevolent purposes, and among others, two exhibitions to Cambridge.

LEATHER-SELLERS.

The Leather-sellers have no hall, but are deserving of particular notice among the companies of London, for making one of the most spirited assertions of the rights of the freemen of London, upon record. In the reign of Elizabeth, when patents of monopoly were so much the fashion, Edward Darcy obtained one for searching and sealing of all leather throughout England, for which he was to be paid at certain very handsome rates. The leather-sellers of London denied the validity of the patent ; and being heard on the subject before the queen's council, submitted to them in very homely terms, " whether it was meet that such tax should be laid upon the people, not being granted by parliament, nor warranted by law. And whether, if it were in her majesty's power to grant it, it were meet or requisite to raise a revenue of four-score or an hundred thousand pounds to one man, to the utter undoing of many thousands,—her majesty's poor and dutiful subjects."

The council ordered inquiry to be made into the subject, and in the meanwhile suspended the operation of the patent. The lord treasurer afterwards

endeavoured to prevail on the leather-sellers to submit to the patent under certain modifications, but they positively refused to acknowledge its legality on any terms, and four of them were thrown into prison for their obstinacy.

The recorder and several aldermen waited on them in prison, and advised them to yield to Darcy. The reply which they made, deserves to be inscribed in letters of gold. "They urged to the said aldermen, that at their first incorporating into this noble city, they were charged with a precise oath; to be obeisant and obedient unto the mayor and ministers of the city, the franchises and customs thereof to maintain, and this city to keep harmless in that, that in them was: and then they bade them judge if to admit Mr. Darcy's ministers to search and seal, were not to run headlong into the horrible sin of perjury; which the queen could never abide, and never yet left unpunished. And they prayed God to strengthen them with all constancy and patience, to endure any thing, rather than by their own act to dispossess themselves of that which had been enjoyed by them and their predecessors, citizens of London, three hundred years and more." The result of this honest inflexibility was the destruction of Darcy's patent. The council did not choose to push the matter any further; but to screen their own inconsistency, found out a legal flaw in the patent, and then set the sturdy leather-sellers free.

PARISH CLERKS.—BILLS OF MORTALITY.

The clerks of the different parishes within the bills of mortality, were originally incorporated in 1282, by Henry III. under the appellation of "The Fraternity of St. Nicholas," for the purpose of cultivating church music. Many persons of the first quality, both male and female, lay as well as ecclesiastical, also united themselves to the fraternity, in order to participate in "the study and practice of this noble and divine science."

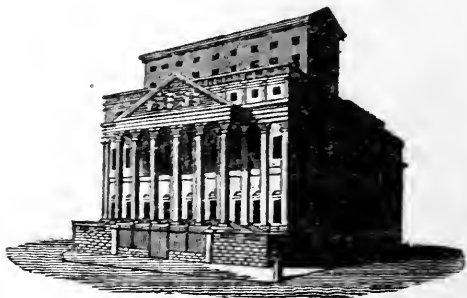
The clerks were also great performers of the Mysteries or Scriptural Dramas, so common during the catholic times. Their usual place of performance was a green at the bottom of the hill, on which stood the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and near to a spring or well, which was thence called the clerks' well, and gave name to the parish of Clerkenwell. In 1391, they exhibited here for three days successively before Richard II. and his court; and in 1409, they enacted the creation of the world, with such a regard to unity of time at least, that the performance occupied a whole week.

At the Reformation the brotherhood was dissolved, and their hall and other property demolished.

In 1611, they were re-incorporated by James I. by the style of "the master, wardens, and fellowship of parish church clerks of the city and suburbs of London and the liberties thereof, the city of Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and the fifteen out-parishes adjacent;" and several valuable privileges conferred on them.

In return for these, a duty was imposed upon them which has now become one of great importance—namely, the making up of what are called *The Bills of Mortality*. Every clerk is bound to make a weekly report of all christenings or burials which happen in the course of each week, accompanied with such information as he can collect, with respect to the ages, diseases, &c. of the persons dying. From these parochial returns, the clerk of the company makes up a general return, copies of which are sent to the different public authorities; for which purpose, the company are authorised by their charter, to keep a printing-press and printer of their own.

The present hall of the company is in Wood-street; but it has been all leased out, with the exception of a small room, reserved for the transaction of company business.



The Mansion House.

The first of these is the fact that the
 country was not yet settled. The
 land was still in the hands of the
 Indians. The first settlers were
 the Dutch. They came in 1614.
 They were the first to settle in
 the country. They were the first
 to build a house. They were the
 first to plant a field. They were
 the first to raise a family. They
 were the first to be called
 Americans. They were the first
 to be called the first Americans.





Author Percy, Sholto, and Percy, Reuben, pseud

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